

CATHOLICISM AND SOCIALISM

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PREFACE

SOCIALISM is rapidly becoming the accepted creed of the masses. A century of commercialist economics and materialist propaganda is producing the inevitable result. A people dechristianized, neglected, and oppressed by governing classes that will not govern, by selfish and irresponsible "captains of industry," has naturally turned to the only doctrine that seems to promise hope, Revolutionary Socialism. Yet the Catholic Church, the divinely-appointed guardian of Truth and Justice, while sternly rebuking the neglect of duty that has created this social unrest, must also oppose Revolutionary Socialism; for the reaction has over-passed justice, and the proposed remedy is almost worse than the disease.

In the pamphlets collected in this volume some of the points of opposition between Christianity and Socialism are indicated. The arguments put forward by no means exhaust the case against Socialism, but they will be found of service in opposing that specious doctrine, which is seducing many of the noblest among the working-classes of England.

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CHRISTIAN CIVILIZATION

AND

THE PERILS THAT NOW THREATEN IT

**A LECTURE BY THE MOST REV. P. J. RYAN, ARCHBISHOP
OF PHILADELPHIA ¹**

I PROPOSE to speak to you on the subject of "Christian Civilization and the Perils that now Threaten it." I have selected the subject because I deem it a very important one at the present time. My object is to show that our civilization is the result of the triumph of Christianity over Paganism, and is now imperilled by the neo-paganism and infidelity of this age, and that it is the sacred duty of every man to see to its preservation.

The term civilization is a very general and somewhat vague one, and various definitions and descriptions of it have been given. I think, with Edmund Burke, that the essence of civilization consists in the spirit of a gentleman and in the spirit of religion, that is, the union of all that is noble and sacred in religion with all that is gentle and strong in our humanity. Emerson says: "The truest test of civilization is not the census, nor the size of cities, nor the crops, but the kind of a man a country turns out." Our highest conception of a perfect man is the union of religion and gentle manhood, realized in the person of Christ, the Founder of Christian civilization. Christianity is Christ continued, and its civilization is His continued influence on the outside world. I think the best test of the civilization

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of an individual, or of a nation, is unselfishness, and the best test of unselfishness is care for the poor and oppressed of our race. Mr. Lecky complains of this age as defective in the spirit of self-sacrifice. Its defect is in proportion to its forgetfulness of the teachings and spirit of Christianity, which is pre-eminently the religion of self-sacrifice.

This spirit of self-sacrifice is essential to the continued existence of civilized society. Each man must pay a little of personal comfort to the general fund of society. Selfishness led to the fall of pagan civilization and threatens our own. Carlyle says "that men of learning and profound reflection begin to doubt whether it is possible for the existing framework of civil society to hold together without the principle of cohesion, supplied by the truths which it has cast away."

Fortunately, only a portion of society has been rash enough to reject them; and, as Christianity is immortal, like its Founder, that rejection can never become universal. It is, however, the duty of Christians to keep it within as narrow limits as possible.

To do this intelligently and effectually, we have to fully appreciate the connection between Christianity and the civilization to which it has given name. To see that this civilization is based on, and motived by, great Christian doctrines, which, if weakened or denied, will weaken or ruin the great superstructure itself, and send us back not merely to pagan civilization, but much farther. For you will observe, even Paganism taught great conservative truths, such as the existence of the Supreme Being and His Providence over men, and the doctrine of future rewards and punishments, which modern unbelief affects to deny. It may be some time before the dangers which we apprehend will fully develop themselves. The flower that is plucked from its stem retains its fragrance for a time afterwards. The morality and public conscience which Christianity has produced will influence men for a time also, after they shall have ceased to believe, but this influence must be necessarily temporary. The restraint which Paganism placed on human passion being removed, and God ignored, self-will becomes the worshipped Deity. To avert this, let

us first examine the connection between Christianity and its civilization.

Christianity is a fact in the history of the human race, the most mysterious in its nature, the most stupendous and universal in its effects ; a fact which philosophy cannot ignore, nor infidelity deny, nor scepticism doubt ; which has influenced religion, arts, arms, sciences, literature, social life, politics, human happiness, human suffering, human progress, more than any other fact in the history of our race. The unbeliever who regards it lightly, as one of the many false religions embraced by man at various periods of his history, who thinks that its influences were simply and exclusively confined to the secret intercourse between the Creator and the creature, such a one can never adequately understand the philosophy of human history. Christianity re-fashioned the whole being of man, politically and socially, as well as religiously. It formed not only the Christian saint, but the Christian statesman, the Christian warrior, the Christian citizen, the Christian artist, the Christian soldier, and the Christian philanthropist.

“Christianity,” says Mr. Gladstone in his *Studies of Homer*, speaking of it from the third century upwards, “has marched for fifteen hundred years at the head of human civilization, and has driven, harnessed to its chariot as the horses of a triumphal car, the chief intellectual and material forces of the world. Its learning has been the learning of the world, its art the art of the world, its genius the genius of the world, its greatness, glory, grandeur, and majesty have been almost, though not absolutely, all that in these respects the world has had to boast of.” But in no sphere did it effect so signal a revolution as in the formation of Christian philanthropy. To understand this fully we have but to view the poor, helpless, and suffering under pagan and Christian civilization, to behold the spirit of Christ passing along the wayside of human history, bending, good Samaritan-like, over the wounded and robbed sufferers of our race under Paganism, and not only pouring into their wounds the strengthening oil and wine, but also bearing the sufferers to the inn—that is, founding institutions for their permanent cure and comfort, and promising that

when the Lord shall return in the end, He shall pay whatever is over and above to the caretakers of wounded humanity.

To see the condition of the unfortunate under Pagan civilization, we need not take examples from the rude, untaught children of the forest, who are called the barbarians of antiquity; but look to the polished, educated, highly cultured nations of Greece and Rome. It is the fashion of a class of modern humanitarian political philosophers who have some influence in this age and country to praise classic antiquity, to exhibit its virtues, as proofs of what unaided man can do, to practically ignore the civilization of Christianity, and to hold forth the pagan nations as magnificent models for the emulation of our own young Republic. God forbid that we should ever adopt these models. If we do, our moral corruption will, like theirs, increase with our material greatness, and a false civilization, with a terrible power for evil, will, like the strong man of Scripture, soon twine its mighty arms around the great pillars that support the national edifice, shake them to their foundations, and be destroyed only in the crumbling ruins of the edifice itself. I am far from denying to these classic nations of antiquity many glorious natural qualities. Their learning, military prowess, exalted patriotism, their cultivation of the arts, and their spirit of material progress, are unquestioned and unquestionable. But for their morality, for their care of the poor and the suffering, for disinterested sacrifice for others, we look almost in vain until the rising Orient of the Christian day, the "Light of Light," appeared above the troubled waters of Paganism and illumined the dark passage of this valley of tears.

Aristotle tells us that it was a common practice in his day for parents to expose their children to death. This was no secret crime for which there was punishment as now, but it was a public, recognized, legalized act. One of the laws of Lycurgus commanded that all children born with any deformity should be immediately put to death. He claimed the children as the property of the State, and treated them as such. Infanticide was not uncommon in Greece. In Rome the fourth of the twelve "Tables of the

Law " enacted that the father should have the right of life, death, and sale of his child, and it also decreed that the deformed ones should be put to death. The result of these laws was that the parents kept as many of their children as they pleased, sold or killed the others, treated them as men do newly-born whelps. In some instances, as Lactantius and Minutius Felix tell us, they cast forth their children, who were devoured by dogs. You shudder at this; why? Were not these men and women with human hearts like our own, not barbarian men and women, but graceful Greeks and cultured Romans? You shudder because the civilization of Christianity has softened your hearts and protects you from the barbarism of these nations. Tacitus tells us that the Romans smiled at the scruples of the Jews for holding the doctrine that infanticide was a crime. We find men like Solon and Quintilian defending child-murder, when the children became inconveniently numerous.

Behold, then, the appalling spectacle! Helpless infancy, exposed, killed, cast to the dogs. See the yellow Tiber, as it sweeps by the marble palaces, by the temples and luxuriant baths of ancient Rome, bearing upon its waters the floating bodies of pure, innocent, holy childhood! Such was the state of the world, when a voice was heard from obscure Palestine. It was but the feeble cry of a child, but it was to reverberate in thunder-tones through the universe, and to awaken and purify the echoes of the seven-hilled city. It was the cry of infancy from the stable of Bethlehem. It was the deep, solemn protest of the Child-God against the barbarism of infanticide. It was the proclamation of the young King, that infancy was now sanctified and should be revered, that divinity itself had descended from on high, and appeared in the vesture of infantine humanity. "A Child is born to us, and a Son is given to us, and the government is upon His shoulder, and His name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, God the Mighty, Father of the world to come, the Prince of Peace." Behold Him afterwards in that sweet scene of His public life, when the children clustered around Him, and the disciples would keep them at a distance, and when

He restrained these disciples, saying, "Suffer the little children to come to Me, and forbid them not, for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven." When protecting the virtue of little children from scandalizers He seems for the time to lose His sublime habitual calm. He pardons the greatest sinners with gentle pity; He cries out from the cross to His Heavenly Father for mercy on those who mock and crucify Him. But when He speaks of those who by word or deed injure the soul of only one of His little ones, "the Lamb of God who taketh away the sins of the world" becomes "the Lion of the fold of Judah," the benediction becomes a malediction, and the scandalizer of childhood, like the barren fig-tree, falls beneath His withering curse: "Woe to the man that shall scandalize one of these little ones: it were better for him that a millstone should be hanged around his neck and he should be drowned in the depths of the sea." Again, He says: "See that you despise not one of these little ones, for I say to you that their angels in heaven always see the face of My Father who is in heaven."

Sublime dignity of these little ones! God's angels are their angels also, appointed to shield them, and only wait the Divine permission to strike down the scandalizers and persecutors of their charge. Therefore "despise them not," defend, cherish, embrace them. Great has always been the care of the Christian Church for holy childhood. For centuries she had to fight alone for these little ones of Christ. Child-murder was so common that it required her entire power to abolish it. Even as late as the years 546 and 589 of the Christian era we find her, in the Councils of Lerida and Toledo, enacting penalties against child-murder. We see this care through all the ages of history in the numerous lying-in hospitals, orphan asylums, and protectories, established by her in all the countries of her extensive domain. But behold a picture that will vividly show you the value Christianity sets upon childhood! It is a cold winter's morning, but a few hours after midnight, in the deserted, snow-covered streets of the great city of Paris; the gay revellers of last night are asleep; but see the form that stalks around the by-streets,

lanes, and alleys like a spirit of ill-omen ; see that woman shivering with the cold, and her soul shivering with a moral chill of the terrible, unnatural crime she is about to perpetrate. She gazes around to be certain that no one sees her, nor thinks that the withering glance of our Common Parent is upon her. Nervously she draws from beneath her shawl the concealed offspring of her sin. She looks at its face for the last moment with the glare of a maniac, for with all her crimes she is a mother. She leaves it in the snow to perish, and flies to hide her face from every human eye. The child weeps, and soon the chill of death will stop its young heart's pulsations. Is there no hand near to lift it up, no breast that will press this young heart to it to continue life, until the waters of the regeneration shall sanctify it? Behold that tottering old man of seventy winters. Time has laid its hand upon his head, and frozen his hair into gray. He is out this early to seek poor outcasts like this. He takes the child in his arms, lifts his eyes to heaven, thanks God, and thinks of the Infant in Bethlehem, on that cold December night, when "there was no room for Him in the inn." He is the priest of Christianity, the true philanthropist, the great-hearted Vincent de Paul. He takes the child home to his Sisters of Charity, in whose virginal bosoms throb mothers' hearts. Thus what Christ commenced, Christianity perpetuates. The child is the image of God, undimmed by sin. Its soul is of priceless value, no matter how deformed its body, or how impure the blood that courses through its veins. Its body came from its parents, but that soul came out from the Heaven of God, and is destined to return to its portals, and to adore God with His angels and its angels, "who always see His face." From this great truth springs a principle of Christian civilization, which must ever protect childhood. Let unbelief deny it, and let men act out this unbelief, and we shall in time return to the barbarism of pagan civilization ; as great principles act themselves out into great institutions, so it is true that he who would strike down the principle must also crush the institution and rob childhood of its loving protectors.

From the consideration of childhood under pagan and

Christian civilization we come naturally to consider the condition of woman under like influences. Before the advent of Christianity woman was, in most countries, little more than the white slave of man, who had dominion over her property, and in some places over her life. The degradation which polygamy stamped on her was everywhere felt. It was sometimes simultaneous polygamy, when a man kept several wives at once, and sometimes it was the no less criminal, but more comfortable and convenient, successive polygamy of divorce.

Seneca laments the fact of almost daily divorce in Rome in her most cultured period. Juvenal, who lashed the vices and vicious of his day, tells us of one woman who by divorce married eight husbands in five months! Even the "divine" Plato, the most "naturally Christian" of the pagan philosophers, advocated a community of wives, and on the ground that the children would then become more exclusively the property of the State. Hymen, the god of marriage, was represented in Roman mythology as the son of Venus, the goddess of impurity, by Bacchus, the god of drunkenness. How degraded was woman, whom God made far purer than man! Such was the world when in the stable of Bethlehem, the birthplace of civilization, stood a woman. Her arms formed the throne of the newborn King who proclaimed the new civilization. The blood with which He paid the ransom of redemption had come from her alone. Filled with the Spirit of God, she, representing as it were the whole sex, cried out in her sublime *Magnificat*, "He hath regarded the lowliness of His handmaid; from henceforth all nations shall call me blessed, for He that is mighty hath done great things for me, and holy is His name."

Woman was exalted in the person of the Mother of Christ. Therefore it was, as it were, the triumphant *Magnificat* canticle of liberated womanhood! The Christian Church abolished at once simultaneous and successive polygamy, and thus preserved the dignity and freedom of woman. Should she ever become degraded again, it will be by the modern Paganism that ignores Christianity. Already perils surround her. For nineteen

centuries Christianity, organized in the Catholic Church, has contended for the indissolubility of the marriage tie, which is woman's only hope of retaining the position which she now possesses. Unfortunately, this doctrine has been disregarded, and divorce, with the permission to marry again, is drifting us back to successive pagan polygamy. The twentieth century will feel and see and acknowledge the wisdom of the old Church, in repressing, rather than partially indulging human passion, by sweeping away the very possibility of marriage after divorce. The world will yet do justice to Christian Rome as the only power to save her from pagan Rome, and will address her with the author of *Childe Harold*:

Parent of our religion, whom the wide
Nations have knelt to for the keys of heaven,
Europe, repentant of her parricide,
Shall yet redeem thee, and all backward driven,
Roll the barbarian tide, and sue to be forgiven.

And not only over woman, noble and virtuous, but also over her fallen sisters, who are popularly supposed to be like fallen angels, destined never to rise again, has Christianity spread the ægis of her protection, and inspired hope of reformation. Under pagan civilization this unhappy class of women was simply ignored, and their case deemed hopeless. Of all the beings on this earth who drink the bitter waters of human misery, the most truly wretched is that outcast woman who has lost virtue, and has come to know and to feel her supreme solitude and wretchedness, whom the world in its coldheartedness or pharisaical prudery deems it pollution even to mention, who, crushed by sin and sorrow and all social proscription, wanders in the world like a moral leper, parentless, friendless, homeless; whose heart is a wild waste, without tree, or fruit, or flower, or one gleam of joyous sunshine; whose hopes, like fallen leaves, are withered for ever, and who wishes to sink like these leaves into the earth and be forgotten. Only Christian charity could reach her; fallen as she is, she is a glorious subject of that charity. Fallen as she is, yet remember there was a time when that young heart beat high and joyous to a pure and holy love. There was a time

when a mother's kiss was imprinted as a signet upon her yet unprofaned lips, when the eyes now closed in sorrow, and scorching under her warm tears, laughed out the ingenuousness of her simple heart. There was a time, but it is gone—gone for ever; then why enumerate? The world that allured and fascinated and ruined her, now flings her from its bosom like a scorpion, or smiles contemptuously at her misery, looks upon her as Satan looked upon Eve after he had wrought her fall.

Such was the fallen woman under Paganism and stern Judaism, when one of her class, with singular apparent audacity which was really supernatural courage, entered the banquet hall of Simon, and, unterrified by the presence of indignant Scribes and self-righteous Pharisees, fell weeping and broken-hearted at the feet of the Founder of Christian civilization. It was her only resting place on God's earth. She washes these feet with her tears, and wipes them with her dishevelled hair. She kisses these feet in reverential love, for they are beautiful. Yes, Mary, "beautiful are the feet of Him on the mountains," high above the low prejudices of men: of Him "who evangelizes good things, evangelizes peace" to thy broken spirit, which, like thy broken alabaster box, sends upwards to Him the odour of sweetness. Mocking Pharisees understand it not and are scandalized. "If this man were a prophet," they whispered to each other, "He would have known what manner of woman this is that touches Him, that she is a sinner." But see, the Lord repels her not. She looks not into the heaven of His face, for well she knows that like the heaven beyond the stars, "nothing defiled should enter there." She speaks not, but only weeps. He who esteems most the heart eloquence of such penitent tears, hears and blesses and forgives her! He defends her apparent boldness before the assembled guests. And how faithful this "sinner of the city" afterwards proved! When Scribes and Pharisees sought His death, when Judas betrayed, and Peter denied, and even John followed but at a distance, she ever remained the same devoted penitential lover.

She was found on Calvary at her old place at His feet,

His bleeding feet ; she threw her arm around the bloody rood as He hung expiring upon it. She knew Him in the Garden of the Resurrection when He pronounced her name and awoke the memories of Simon's banquet hall. She fell again at His feet, and exclaimed "Rabboni, Master !" And now in Heaven she still clings to her old place, at Jesus' feet—the part "that shall not be taken from her for ever"—and prays for her poor outcast sisters—the sinners of the cities of the world. She became a factor in the great work of Christian civilization. From the time of Magdalen, the fallen penitent women became favourite objects of Christian charity, and institutions for their reformation have sprung up in every portion of the Christian world. Quite a number of these poor penitents desire to remain all their lives under the protection of the Sisters, and a religious order called that of the "Magdalens," with vows of poverty, chastity, obedience, has been instituted for them. Of the penitents who leave, the greater number persevere in virtue and get happily married. Of those who relapse into sin, quite a number return again to the house, as the vivid impressions made on them during their former residence there almost invariably revive. Amongst the penitents, especially in Europe, are found highly educated women, and it has sometimes occurred that the pure virginal Sister of the Good Shepherd receives as a penitent one whom she knew in the world as a dear friend. We can well imagine such a scene ! The Sister attempting to throw her arms around her, and the penitent recoiling from her and exclaiming, "Oh don't, it will kill me ! Angels should not touch demons such as I have been." And then behold the Sister leading her to the convent chapel and leaving her before the tabernacle—Magdalen at the feet of Jesus !

Passing to another class of the unfortunate sufferers of our race, let us consider the condition of prisoners, even those of war, usually supposed to be privileged. Let us consider them under the most refined and cultured pagan civilization. Look at that scene of a Roman triumph. See the kings and generals who are taken prisoners of war whilst defending their own countries. Behold them

led along in melancholy, insulting procession, in chains of gold, silver, or iron, according to their rank, but all bearing the badge of slavery. Jesters are employed to mock at them in their misfortune. No wonder the curse of Rome is burning on their lips and in their hearts, whilst the crowded thoroughfares and peopled housetops peal forth insulting curses on their heads. Worse than this they force these prisoners to become slaves and gladiators, and to butcher each other for the amusement of their highly civilized Roman conquerors. Brother had to encounter brother in the bloody arena, and when two strong, brave men met in fight and could not vanquish each other, the populace cried out impatiently for others to enter the arena. They were thirsty for blood, and should have it. The wounded gladiator might plead piteously for life, but was laughed to scorn. More than this—but how shall I tell it? Pliny and Tertullian, the pagan and the Christian, both inform us that it sometimes happened that when the fresh warm tide of the gladiator's blood gushed out, it was received in drinking cups, handed round to the audience and sipped by Roman men and—Roman women! Great God! how terrible can human nature become, even highly cultured human nature! Man is truly the vilest, as well as the grandest of God's creatures, an angel at once and a demon.

Thus was Paganism treating its prisoners when there stood in the hall of Pontius Pilate, the Roman Governor of Judea, a prisoner. He stood there as a malefactor who was to strike off the fetters of the captive, and make the character of the prisoner sacred and inviolate. He identified Himself with the prisoners of all time. He made kindness to prisoners the condition of eternal salvation—"I was in prison and you visited Me"; as if He said, I will live in every heart-broken captive until the end of time. His spirit has ever animated that Christianity which He founded. The Roman prisons were deep, dark dungeons, into which one ray of Heaven's white light could never enter. By decrees of the Christian Roman Emperors, especially those of Theodosius, the condition of prisons and prisoners was mercifully ameliorated. Christians visited them, according to the command of our Lord. The Chris-

tian Church perpetuated this charity. In the Twentieth Canon of the Council of Orleans, in 549, and in the Great Council of Chalcedon, in 431, it was ordered that prisoners should be most kindly treated, visited and consoled by the faithful, according, says the Council of Chalcedon, "to the traditions of the Fathers," showing that it ever had been the teaching and practice of the Christian Church.

You know how the dreadful gladiatorial combats were finally abolished. Men continued them in spite of the Church's protests, when a monk of the distant Thebaid heard of the terrible excesses. A light flashed on his soul, like inspirations on the souls of the prophets. He left the desert and journeyed on to Rome. Though no longer young, his spirit was young and fearless, and he bounded into the midst of the Coliseum whilst the gladiators were fighting, and commanded them in the name of God to desist. Eighty thousand people filled the mighty building and looked in wonder at the audacious stranger. He appealed to them and to the Emperor, in the name of Christ, to stop this terrible combat. The appeal was not heeded. The populace demanded the blood of the intruder, and he was stoned to death. But this scene ended the gladiatorial combats. They never revived after it, and the monk is honoured now as St. Telemachus, truly a hero of Christian civilization!

Time and suffering quenched not the fire of zeal in the old Church. On the contrary we behold her in the time of the Crusades establishing that wonderful Order for the "Redemption of Captives," the members of which bound themselves by vows, not only to collect money to redeem the Christian prisoners retained by the Turks, but to actually go, as they not unfrequently did, to exchange places with the prisoners, in order that men of family could return to their homes to support their wives and children! Behold them, offering their hands for the prison chains of the Musulman, and their bodies to the lashes of their taskmakers, for they thought of One on whose sacred flesh fell the scourges of the Roman soldiers in order to liberate the prisoners of sin.

What was true of individual prisoners was true also of oppressed nationalities. The Church, which is Christians

organized, was ever of the people and with the people. When the Normans invaded England, the Norman prelates, who came over with the invaders, stood between the oppressed Saxons and their own countrymen, and defended with great self-sacrifice the conquered nationality. Who was it that here on the soil of this New World protected the primitive people from the savage excesses of their Spanish masters? Who but the Church's clergy, represented by such men as Las Casas, the Dominican, the Franciscan Fathers and the secular clergy, who became the champions of the oppressed races. Bound to them by ties stronger than those of kin and nationality, they defied the wrath of royal and military powers. In Arthur Helps's *Spanish Conquest of America* (vol. ii. pp. 46, 66) we read :—

“The King's preachers and Las Casas formed a junta of their own. They admitted one or two other religiosos into it, a brother, it was said, of the Queen of Scotland being one of them.”

The conclusion this junta came to was, that they were obliged by the Divine Law to undertake to procure a remedy for the evils of the Indies ; and they bound themselves to each other by oath that none of them were to be dismayed or to desist from the undertaking till it should be accomplished. They resolved to begin by “the evangelical form of fraternal correction.” First, they would go and admonish the Council of the Indies ; if this had no effect, they would then admonish the chancellor ; if he were obdurate, they would admonish Monsieur Chievres ; and, if none of these admonitions addressed to the officers of the crown were of any avail, they would finally go to the king and admonish him. If all these earthly powers turned a deaf ear to fraternal admonitions, they, the brethren, would then preach publicly against all of these great men, not omitting to give his due share of blame to the king himself. This resolution, drawn up in writing, they subscribed to ; and they swore upon the Cross and the Gospels to carry out their resolve.

Robertson in his *History of America* (vol. iv. p. 8) says : “The priests were the ministers of peace among the Indians, and continually exerted themselves to remove the rod of

iron from the hand of their oppressors. Any mitigation of their hardships was due to the mediation of the priests. Ecclesiastics both regular and secular were regarded by the Indians as their natural protectors. In every case of violence or exaction, they had recourse to them."

So has it been also in our day with the North American Indians. Missionaries like Father De Smet and his companions have done more to civilize the Indians by the influence of the doctrine and institutions of the Christian religion than all other influences united. That remarkable man thoroughly studied and deeply loved these primitive tribes. I remember once having incautiously asked him how he could have lived so long and so happily amongst these savages. "Savages!" exclaimed the old man. "The only savages I have met in this country I have met in New York and St. Louis, where I have stayed. The civilized savages who have received and rejected Christianity truly deserve that name." General Harney, then the oldest officer, I believe, in the American army, told me that Mr. Lincoln, during his Presidency, sent for him to consult on the subject of sending troops to subdue some troublesome Indians. "If you wish my opinion, Mr. President," said the General, "it is, that you send not troops, but Father De Smet and myself on a peaceful campaign." The influence of the old missionary was marvellous, and the peaceful campaign effected more than could have done several regiments of soldiers.

What was true of the Saxons and the Indians, I need not say was true also of the relations existing between the Catholic clergy and the Irish people. They were found together in penal persecution and famine sufferings, and, thank God, they stand together as one man in these trying times! Christianity civilized and sanctified that island. A civilization far above that of material progress has signalized her—a civilization which nerved her to sacrifice the things of this world for her honour and her God. Cold should be the heart of the priest who would not love and defend her!

The action of the Christian Church in relation to the abolition of slavery is so well known that it needs but a

passing reminder. That action commenced in the first century and has continued until the present day. In the first century a Catholic Christian lady named Callista, passing through the slave market of Smyrna, was attracted by the gentle and intelligent looks of a young slave, and redeemed him. He was afterwards instructed in the Christian faith by St. John the Evangelist himself, and subsequently became Bishop of Smyrna and the celebrated martyr St. Polycarp. Callista's action foreshadowed the action of the Church in future ages. We find the Church gradually preparing slaves for the enjoyment of liberty, and then seeking their emancipation, civilizing at once and sanctifying them. St. Patrick had been a slave in Ireland, and we find him writing to Coroticus, a Welsh noble, begging him to liberate his Irish slaves.

The doctrines of Christianity, especially those of the origin of man, the doctrine of the Incarnation, and of the destiny of the immortal soul tended to bring up the individual, no matter who he was, to the plane of equality with other men. How ennobling is that doctrine of the immortality of the soul, now questioned by unbelievers! How different the destiny to sink into the earth like the beast of the field and be forgotten forever, from that described in the destiny of the last child of Adam that shall stand on this earth amid the wreck of creation and in view of the dying sun, and destined to survive it and live forever! Such was the destiny of lowliest slaves. Again he was of the nature which had been united to Divinity in the Incarnation, and thus became a brother of the Son of God. You know how Popes and Councils protested and emancipated such men during all the centuries of the Church's existence.

In regard to the great contest between Labour and Capital in our day which seems sometimes to threaten a universal revolution, where shall we find a power strong and impartial enough to reconcile them? Behold Labour and Capital like the gladiators in the Roman amphitheatre. Labour stares at Capital and says: "What are you but a man, like myself? Why oppress and crush me,

that you may live in luxury? It shall not be!" And Capital, in its pride, replies: "I am not as you. Men never were and never can be equal. You must submit to my dictation or starve!"

So the contest must continue, but behold the great delivery! Christian civilization, like the monk from the Eastern desert, bounds into the arena, and Christ Himself stands between the combatants. He alone can reconcile them. He represents Supreme Capital, for He is "King of Kings and Lord of Lords," and all the riches of heaven and earth are His. But He is also Labour, for He is the Carpenter of Nazareth and so poor that He had not where to lay His head. Behold both united in Him. Taking the hands of the combatants He presses them between His own and gives to both His benediction. He admonishes Capital that it is but God's steward, and accountable to Him for its use of riches, and consoles Labour by His own example and the promise of everlasting riches. In the teaching of the Founder of Christianity and of His Church, will be found the only power to reconcile Labour and Capital, as so admirably set forth in the Encyclical letters of the present Vicar of Jesus Christ.

With regard to the poor, we know that pagan civilization practically ignored them, except, perhaps, to regard their poverty as almost a crime. Even Plato would have them expelled from his model Republic if they became too numerous for the comfort of their more fortunate fellow-citizens. We know that in the city of Rome, when she had three millions of people within her bounds, and worshipped at the shrines of thirty thousand gods, she had no asylum for her poor. She had her gods of eloquence, of war, her goddesses of wisdom and of love, but no god or goddess of blessed charity, no god of the poor. This title was reserved for the true God alone, for "who is like unto our God, who dwelleth on high, and beholdeth the humble things in heaven and on earth, lifting from the earth the weak, and from the dunghill the poor, that He might place them with the princes of His people."

Wealth, then, under pagan civilization, despised

poverty, when, lo! a mighty revolution takes place—takes place at the birthplace of Christ, at the cradle of the new civilization. Behold wealth, royal wealth, at the very feet of poverty, adoring it! See these kings of the East, with their gold, frankincense and myrrh, prostrate before poverty, in whose garb Deity itself is invested! And when that Child grew to manhood, He commenced His first sermon, the great Sermon on the Mount, with a benediction on poverty: “Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.” He practised during life the poverty which He blessed. He lived as the carpenter’s son of Nazareth. And during His public career, though showering blessings temporal as well as spiritual on men, making the blind to see, and the deaf to hear, and the lame to walk, and cleansing the lepers, and raising the dead, yet, “He had not where to lay His head.” He died naked on the cross, in supreme poverty.

From that moment poverty was not only not a disgrace, but a benediction, for, “whom God foreknew He predestined to be made conformable to the image of His Son” and that is the image of perfect poverty. From the infancy of Christianity, institutions for the poor were placed under the special protection of the Christian Church. The appointment of deacons mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, was specially for the care of this class, and St. Paul tells us that when the other Apostles sent Barnabas and himself to preach the Gospel, they charged them “to take care of the poor, which thing,” says the Apostle, “we were careful to do.” In the time of the first Christian Emperor, Constantine, the State gave over the care of the poor to their best protectors and friends, the Christian clergy, and, in every age since, we see the priest and the poor associated.

This care of Christians for the poor was shown most strikingly in their devoted self-sacrifice towards the sick poor, especially in regard to lepers and sufferers in times of plague. According to the stern behest of the Mosaic Law, the lepers were compelled to live apart from the people, but when the Mosaic dispensation passed away,

the fervent early Christians established lazarettos or hospitals, for the care of the poor lepers, and daily waited upon them when the rest of the world—even their own relatives—had abandoned them. This spirit lived in the brave Father Damien, dying of leprosy, but fearless and even joyous at the very portals of death. Other priests, as well as Sisters, continue his work. During the terrible yellow fever visitation in Memphis some years ago, five Sisters called on me in St. Louis to receive my episcopal blessing before going down to that city of death. I asked them if they fully understood the danger of the situation there. They replied that they had done so, and had earnestly begged of their Superior for the privilege of going, as people were dying there utterly abandoned for lack of nurses to attend them. “But people who go there now,” I urged, “often die within ten days.” “Ten days!” replied a bright, happy-looking Sister; “why we can do so much good in ten days, and there is no one else to do it.” As they descended the steps from my hall-door they seemed to me as going in procession to their early grave. Four of them descended into their graves within as many weeks. A noble young Episcopal clergyman, whom I knew well, went down to the plague-stricken city about the same time, and when it was urged that people going from without into that city were more liable to be affected by the plague than those who continually lived there, he replied, in almost the words of the Catholic Sisters, “One can do so much good, even in a single week. I will go in the name of God.” He acted there not only as a spiritual adviser, but as nurse for the sick, and acted from the purest supernatural motives, and died in the midst of his work. He had the happiness on his death bed to be received into the Catholic Church by one of the Dominican Fathers. Nine Catholic priests fell victims of charity there.

But the most striking evidence, perhaps, of Christian civilization in this regard is found in an incident that occurred in Alexandria in the third century, and which forms a suggestive contrast to the pagan civilization of the time. In that great city the Christians formed the poorest

portions of the community, and were persecuted by their pagan brethren. A plague broke out among the citizens and more than decimated them. Comparatively few of the Christians became infected by it, probably because of their more temperate lives. The infection was so appalling that the nearest relatives abandoned the dying or cast them into the streets and left them unburied. Now came the time for Christian revenge. Out from the Christian quarters of the city issued the men whom these plague-stricken people had persecuted. The army of charity advanced on them; they waited on their dying enemies, nursed them, and when they died bore them to their graves, and in many instances lay down beside these graves to die victims of forgiving charity—heroes of true Christian civilization. Alexandria became afterwards one of the greatest centres of Christianity.

I might continue to multiply these evidences of self-sacrifice amongst Christians, but I think enough has been told to convince you of the real blessings to humanity conferred by the civilization of Christianity. To what I have said two objections may arise in the minds of some of my hearers—the first that I have been unfair to paganism and pagans, and the second that I have been so absorbed in what the Catholic Church has done for civilization that I have almost ignored the works of Protestant benevolence. To the first I reply that I think I have shown that the crimes and cruelties of Paganism arose from its very principles, whereas those of Christianity would arise from ignoring or defying its moral teachings; in the language of the convert and orator, Lactantius, the Christian Cicero, “It is easy to see that the worshippers of false gods could not be good or upright men. For how could they be expected to keep from shedding human blood who worshipped gods that shed blood, as did Mars and Bellona? How could they spare even their own parents, who adored Jupiter who drove away his own father? How could they be merciful to their own infant children who venerated Saturn, the devourer of his children? How could purity have any value in the eyes of those who paid divine honours to an adulteress, who had been nothing more than the common

victim of the lusts of all the gods? How could rapine and fraud be avoided by men who knew the thefts committed by their god Mercury? He, moreover, taught them that cheating was not fraud, but smartness. How could they restrain their passions who venerated Jove, Hercules, Bacchus, and Apollo as gods, while their lusts and frightful lasciviousness, of very blackest dye, were not only known to the learned, but brought out upon the stage of theatres, and made the choice material of songs, that every one might the more surely know them? Could men, however good naturally, be good under such training? Or be upright, while taught injustice by the gods? To appease the god you adore, you must do the things you know to be pleasing and agreeable to him. The most devout worshippers are those who seek to imitate their god, and thus truly did the worship of the gods destroy the morals of the heathens."

If many pagans were good and noble—and unquestionably they were—it was because of the natural goodness of their hearts, which were better than their religion, and also because of the truths of natural religion, such as the existence of God, the future rewards and punishments, which, though mingled with some false doctrines, produced many admirable results.

Another objection may be urged to what I have said—namely, that I have alluded chiefly to the action of the Catholic Church, as if there was no Christian civilization amongst those outside of its pale, or as if they, too, had not made great sacrifices in its cause. God forbid that I should deny to human nature, even without Christianity, much that is noble and benevolent. God forbid that I should deny to Protestants, either individually or organized, the possession of great and self-sacrificing benevolence.

In the last three centuries Protestants have done noble work in the cause of benevolence, and have done it from high motives of Christian charity. But look at the fifteen centuries that preceded the "Reformation," especially at the times of transition from Pagan to Christian civilisation. Who was it that bore the brunt of the persecution of ancient Paganism? Who was it that fought the battle in defence

of helpless childhood, and feeble women, and suffering prisoners? Who was the monk that faced the gladiators in the Coliseum, and by his death abolished gladiatorial contests? And who now makes most sacrifice for suffering humanity? But let us hear one who cannot be suspected of any partiality to the Catholic Church. Speaking of the effects of the discipline of that Church on civil society and especially in relation to the poor and to the oppressed, Mr. Lecky, in his *History of Rationalism in Europe* (vol. ii. p. 37), says: "By consolidating the heterogeneous and anarchical elements that succeeded the downfall of the Roman Empire; by infusing into Christendom the conception of a bond of unity that is superior to the divisions of nationhood, and of a moral tie which is superior to force; by softening slavery into serfdom and preparing the way for the ultimate emancipation of labour, Catholicism laid the very foundation of modern civilization. Herself the most admirable of all organizations, there were formed beneath her influence a vast network of organizations—political, municipal, and social—which supplied a large proportion of the materials of almost every modern structure." In another page the same author says: "That Church, which often seemed so haughty and overbearing in its dealings with kings and nobles, never failed to listen to the poor and to the oppressed, and for many centuries their protection was the foremost of all the objects of its policy."

As a confirmation of what I have said, that it is the spirit of Christianity which has so ameliorated the condition of suffering humanity, let us observe the countries of the world which have remained unconverted, and those also, the nations that tried to un-Christianize themselves. Take as a specimen of the first class the vast empire of China; and of the second, France, in the delirium days of her anti-Christian Revolution. It is certain that the Chinese ought to be, humanly speaking, amongst the most civilized people on the earth. They are, perhaps, the most universally educated, at least to the extent of what we call a common school education. Almost every man in China can read and write, and the country has a fair share of higher education. The Chinese are exceedingly industrious, hard-working,

shrewd business men. They have everything tending to civilize them, except Christianity, and because of this defect they remain comparatively uncivilized. Childhood is degraded, as in the times of pagan civilization. Children are publicly exposed for sale, and purchased in the market-places. Woman is still, as of old, the slave of man, whilst prisoners and the poor are almost in the condition which I have described in the pre-Christian times. Again, look at France, once so gloriously Christian, in the full noontide of her un-Christian days. She sought in the mad paroxysm of the Revolution to cast aside her Christian doctrines and traditions, and with them lost her Christian civilization. She abolished the Sabbath, desecrated the sanctuary, shattered the tabernacles, broke the statues of Christ and His saints, and flung off the Christian yoke. By one wild, desperate spring she plunged into the chasm of worse than Paganism. Christianity, with folded arms, looked on from a distance to see how France could live without her. Deeds of blood, fearful as those of Roman story, characterized the new regime. The mere humanitarian theories of infidel philosophy could never elevate her. When tried, they melted in the sunshine like the waxen pinions of the Athenian artist. France sank into the wildest barbarism in the Reign of Terror. This is a lesson to posterity of the essential connection of Christianity and true civilization. But here I may be confronted by some young orator of progress, who would say to me, "I acknowledge that Christianity did great things in its day, but that day has passed. It helped humanity in its infancy to rise and walk, but now it needs no such assistance. The Church must conform herself to the new and advanced state of things, or be pulverized beneath the chariot wheels of progress. We freely admire and adopt all that is beautiful in the morality of Christianity, we admire the Sermon on the Mount and its Preacher. We take its morality, but we care little for its doctrines, for these doctrines only lead to differences of opinion and sectarianism."

One of the most fatal and demoralizing superstitions of this country, is this attempted separation of morality from doctrinal teaching. Doctrines are as the granite founda-

tion to the whole edifice of Christian ethics, and with them that edifice must stand or crumble into ruins. What underlies the value of holy childhood but the doctrine that the child has an immortal soul? Aholish this, look at the child only in the light of its utility to the State, and soon infanticide will commence again, and deformed children will be put to death when men shall have lost the tenderness which Christianity has produced and fostered. Most men admire the Church's action in regard to divorce. They believe that her conservatism in this respect is essential to the preservation of the family and the sanctity of human love. But all her action and her sufferings in maintaining this principle are founded on a doctrine that marriage is indissoluble, and because of this doctrine the Pope himself and all the Bishops of the world united with him cannot grant a single divorce. Look at the great motives of human action. Behold that young man contending with fearful temptation, wrestling with some "mid-day demon." The pleasure promised is certain and alluring. Religion whispers in his ear, "Fear God, listen to your conscience, you know that to yield is wrong. Remember the punishment which God has threatened, remember the heaven you renounce if you yield, and the hell whose punishment you will deserve." Now all this warning is based on doctrines. Only whisper in his ear, "There is no hell, God is indulgent, or takes no cognizance of human action." Strike down the great truth and you strike down the great motive. Again, look at the marvellous institutions of charity throughout the world, Sisterhoods and Brotherhoods such as I have already described. These people have sworn that in poverty, chastity and obedience they shall wait upon sufferers whom they never saw before, and with whom in many cases they can have little human sympathy. How account for this phenomenon? Not by fanaticism, which is short-lived and uncertain, whereas these sacrifices have lasted nineteen hundred years. No, there is but one solution; all this work of charity is built on a single doctrine that Christ has identified Himself with the poor and the outcast, and that in attending to them we aid Him. The fevered brow is the brow crowned with thorns, the

prisoner in the jail is the captive of Pontius Pilate, the man dying on the scaffold, the crucified sufferer of Calvary. Thus Christ is loved and tended in His representatives. Deny this single doctrine and you rob the sick, the poor, the prisoner, and the dying of their consolers, and civilization of one of its most glorious triumphs.

Look, again, at the influence of doctrinal teaching in the hour of affliction. Look at that poor, broken-hearted wretch who feels that the world has rejected him. Why should he live? Why should he endure "the stings and arrows of this outrageous fortune"? There is nothing left to live for, and suicide seems his only relief. Then Christian faith descends like the comforting Angel of Gethsemane and whispers to him, "There is One beyond the stars who takes cognizance of every sigh and tear and heart-moan. He has said that if a mother should forget her child, He will not forget thee, His creature. Bear your sufferings for a little time; He will aid you in bearing them and reward you for having borne them." But tell him, "There is no God to hear you; or, if there be a God, He is relegated to the unknown and the unknowable by Agnosticism. There is no God; or, if there be one, He is too far away and too glorious to care for a broken-hearted wretch like you." Take away the doctrine of faith, and suicide—which is becoming so common—is the resort of the child of misfortune in the hour of misery.

And, as faith diminishes, suicide must increase. Statistics show us that in ten years it increased thirty per cent. in Germany. It is increasing in France, and will increase in proportion as faith loses its hold upon the children of men. One thing is remarkable in the statistics of suicide, and that is the disproportion of women to men. Women are supposed to believe more and trust more deeply than men, and in one list of one hundred and sixty-six cases, where suicide was attributable to weariness of life, there were found but six women to one hundred men. It is known that among Germans who endeavour to act out their faith, as the Catholics and Lutherans, suicide is almost unknown. So that it is not to be attributed to a national temperament, but to loss of faith and of hope, which makes life wearisome.

It is remarked of the Irish who have faith, that suicide is almost unheard of amongst them; and this is to be attributed, at least to a great extent, to the influence of that faith upon them in the hour of their trying afflictions. Some have asserted that it is rather pugnacity than piety. An Irishman does not like to be beaten in a fight, even in the "fight of life," and regards suicide as an act of cowardice, which in truth it is. But this is not sufficient to account for his victory over affliction. I remember asking a poor fellow who had been very badly treated by his Irish landlord, and who had otherwise great sorrows, if he ever felt tempted to commit suicide. His mother-tongue was Irish, and English came later to him as a sort of step-mother tongue, and he occasionally blundered in it. "No, your reverence," he replied, "I never felt tempted to commit suicide; that is, never on myself, your reverence!" "And why did you not think of it in all your misfortunes?" "Why, because if I died immediately after committing suicide I could not ask pardon of God Almighty, and I would go to hell for all eternity to live under as bad a landlord as I had in Ireland. He could not be worse! Besides, I have hope that God will reward a poor man in the end if he is only patient and bears the sufferings the Almighty sends him." All this poor man's hopes were founded on doctrines. Mere sentiment would have little influence on him.

I might continue to show you that doctrines underlie and give motive to all the great works of Christian civilization. To expect effects without causes, to tear up the root and the stem, and hope that the flower and the fruit will remain, to attempt to retain the morality of Christianity without its doctrinal teaching, is as illogical as it is destructive of true civilization.

I think I can already see in the comparative levity with which men begin to regard the great crime of perjury, and in the fact that it is not as certainly and as severely punished now as in former times, evidence of the effect of neglecting to realize the importance of doctrinal teaching. Perjury supposes belief in two great truths—1st, that God may be called to witness what we state; 2nd, that He will punish

any man who calls on Him to witness a lie as the truth. In proportion to the depth of our faith in these truths is our dread of perjury. If we deny them entirely, perjury is no more than lying, which is proverbially easy to many people. I have shown how many other great conservative influences depend on faith in doctrines, and must fall with that faith.

But some one may say that it is utterly impossible that we should go back to the Paganism from which Christianity has liberated us. There is no danger of our going back to precisely the old forms of that Paganism. Yet we must remember that human nature is always the same, and that mere culture will not save us. We have no greater nor as great poets as Horace and Virgil, no greater nor as great orators as Cicero, no greater moralist outside the pale of Christianity than Seneca, and yet they could not save society from the civilized barbarism of Paganism.

We must remember that though the new religion of the future of which some men dream may not be called Paganism, it is Paganism under another name. We occasionally hear of the "Religion of Humanity." What is this but Paganism, which deified all that was true and beautiful and good, with all that was vile in our nature, and called these things by various names, the deities of its religion? If any one whispered to the infidel philosophers of France who sought the destruction of the Christian religion that the day would come when they would find themselves worshipping at a pagan altar, they would have smiled in derision. But false principles soon act themselves out into institutions. Human reason was deified, and the goddess of reason—a dancing girl of Paris—stood on the high altar of Notre Dame, a fit symbol of the prostituted reason that ruled the hour. But after a time some philosopher might say, "Why not a goddess of love, a power stronger than reason and more universal in its influence? We will not call her Venus, because that would sound like old Paganism. We will call her glorious "Human Love." "But," cries out another, "we should, above all, have a god of spotless French Honour, and another of Military Glory," and so on through the whole range of human passions, good and bad,

until the Pantheon should be complete. Man is a religious being. If he worship not God, he will worship himself. Deny the doctrines of faith, and you try to kill Christianity and establish some form of Paganism.

In the name of our Christian civilization, I, a Bishop of the Christian Church, lift up my voice to warn the representative men who hear me, that the popular modern system of teaching morality without the doctrines that motive it, whether that system be called Christian ethics, or moral instruction, or unsectarian teaching, is sapping the very foundations of Christianity and Christian civilization.

Therefore, to sum up what I have been saying to you, because the spirit of unselfishness is the best test of the civilization of mankind, and because, judged by this criterion, Christian civilization stands infinitely above all others ; because in regard to the weak and unfortunate of our race it has changed the face of the world and the sentiments of mankind ; because it has effected these beneficent results by the teaching of great positive doctrines that give motives to self-sacrifice and by a powerful organism known as the Catholic Church ; and because in proportion as men ignore these two influences, the doctrines and the Church, there is danger of their losing the civilization which these produced :—Therefore it is all-important that those who do not accept the Church should at least insist on the teaching of those positive preserving doctrines of morality, and that the children of the Church should renew their love and allegiance to her, and unite for the preservation of Christian civilization with those outside her pale in every effort to preserve even human faith in every conservative principle that upholds Christian civilization.

SOCIALISM

BY THE REV. JOSEPH RICKABY, S.J.

1. The Sores of Lazarus.

THE sacred rights of property—yes, but there is something even more sacred than property, the lives and happiness of mankind. It is an often proved thesis that property is an institution natural and necessary; a comforting doctrine to persons in easy circumstances. But these arguments for property are not the want of the times. Dives does not need them, and Lazarus will not heed them, not at least unless they be accompanied with a recognition of his grievances and a discourse of remedies for the same. The sacred duties of property, that is the theme to take up at present, even in the worldly interest of the propertied classes themselves. To parody a famous saying, property now is on its trial. If the existence of Dives is a benefit to Lazarus according to the order of nature, then well and good, Dives may be converted, and maintained in his estate; but if his existence is a benefit to no one but himself, so much the worse for Dives in the time that is coming on the earth.

Lazarus can read; he has had some education: he can think; and he does think the division of this world's goods between himself and Dives desperately unfair: and in his weakness he growls to his comrades in misery, "We will right this injustice some day."

2. What is Socialism?

The means of redress held out to him by the oratory, poetry, journalism, and organizing power of a very active propaganda, is a plan called "Socialism." It is one of

those inconvenient names that mean different things to different people. Socialism carried to an extreme, involves a transfer, sudden and probably violent, of all capital to the State, and that apparently without compensation to the sufferers by the change. There is nothing to prevent a good Catholic, or any reasonable man, if he sees his way to it, advocating that the State should pacifically and with due consideration of vested rights, take up now this form of capital, now that, and make it a government or communal monopoly; and it is difficult to see where the absorption should stop; only let it be done gradually and justly. But there must be some limit. I am about to argue that Socialism in its extremest form, implying the extinction of private capital and private commercial enterprise altogether, would be a huge and intolerable evil, abhorrent alike to the pious Catholic and to every other rational human being.

Whenever I speak of Socialism, I mean Socialism full-blown, unmitigated and extreme. It may take many forms. But as it is impossible here to discuss infinite possible amendments, I must beg leave to confine my remarks to one original proposal. That proposal at least is thoroughly Socialistic; and we want to inquire what thorough-going Socialism would involve. Socialism thus carried out means a posture of affairs in which a government of sheer democracy, just such as was proposed by Jean Jacques Rousseau, keeps in its own hands the whole of the capital, or producer's wealth, of the country. The government is purely democratic. The people, having manhood suffrage, make their own laws by their own direct vote, without Parliament or Senate, and hold the sovereign power in their own hands in such a way that all government officials are their nominees and bailiffs, removable at their will any day they choose. The people collectively is sole proprietor, not of all the wealth of the country, but of all the wealth that may lawfully be employed for producing other wealth by means of buying and selling, or other contracts. A man thus may own the house he lives in, the coat upon his back, the wine in his cellar, even the garden that grows cabbages for his table; but he may not hire hands to cultivate the garden, and then

sell the produce; he may not build houses and rent them; he may not import wine for the market. The State will be sole landlord, sole manufacturer, sole owner of shipping and railroads and all branches of the carrying trade, sole exploiter of mines, sole practitioner of medicine (taking fees), sole educator, sole keeper of wine and spirit vaults, sole merchant, and sole retail dealer—in a word, sole capitalist. The only way to wealth for the individual will be his own personal labour; he will get nothing but the wages of his work. The utmost vigilance will be exerted to prevent his capitalizing his wages; they are given him to consume, not to produce with. He may produce for himself if he can, but not for the market. It will be seen that there is no compulsion put on any man to work; but he must either work himself, or have worked, or beg, borrow, or steal from some one who has worked, if he means to live.

Under this system mental labour will be rewarded as well as bodily. The work that feeds the imagination and ministers to the æsthetic taste will command a price no less than the labour which supplies the necessities of life. Every one will receive pay who does work useful to the community, and no one else will receive anything. Skilled labour will be paid better than unskilled, not in proportion to the excellence of the work, but in proportion to the time that the workman, manual or intellectual, may be supposed to have taken in acquiring his skill; the apprenticeship will be counted into the value of the labour. Thus the value of labour will always be reckoned by time, the unit of value being the day of a labourer of average skill and diligence.

It is difficult to formulate proposals which crumble away in the act of putting them into definite shape and detail; proposals the authors of which prefer to leave them vague and general; or if any one has come forward with a scheme more detailed than the rest, the others are sure to protest that they are not answerable for the absurd details of his addition. No working-drawing, so to speak, of Socialism has yet been made by its architects. And yet some of them are bold enough to cry out for the demolition, sudden, violent, and total, of the present edifice of civilization. Before a man consents to have

his house tumbled about his ears, he may well insist upon inspecting precise and accurate plans of the new palace into which he is invited to migrate.

There are two kinds of labour, storable and unstorable, or productive and ministrative. The former is such labour as making a coat, or writing a book; book and coat can be stored up till there is a demand for them. Ministrative labour is illustrated by a surgeon lancing an abscess, or an usher teaching a class. Whatever the labour be, some Socialists propose that the doers of it form a gild, and that gild have the monopoly in its own sphere—thus a joiners' gild, a tailors' gild, a shoemakers', a masons', a physicians', a schoolmasters'. The maker of a coat, then, will take his article to the gild stores, and receive his pay thence, if he be one of the fraternity; otherwise he will not be authorized to make coats, except, if he chooses, for his own back. The gild will sell the coat. The writer of a book will take it to his literary gild, and they will pay him according to the number of days which they think it would have taken an ordinary man amongst their number to have written that work. But the surgeon and the schoolmaster have no work to take to their gild: who then shall remunerate them? If they pocket their fee according to approved modern practice, they will not be members of the Co-operative Commonwealth, they will be working on their own account. It appears, therefore, that the patient or the pupil must carry his fee to the gild of physicians or the gild of preceptors, and the gild will pay their man for doing so many days' work.

Every gild will manage its own affairs, subject to the central control of the State—that is, of the whole people in meeting assembled. The State will fix, from time to time, a prescribed limit of production for the productive gilds; how many tons of coal shall be raised, how much wheat grown, how much cloth woven, and the rest. This the State will be able to do by employing a school of statisticians, whose forecast will be received with deference by the people. Sometimes it will be necessary to order a large transference of workers from one gild to another. In this system it will be observed that whoever buys anything, buys it of the State, that is, of some

gild over which the State has plenary dominion and control. The State, in like manner, buys all the marketable labour of the individual. The State, having full power over the individual, will always have an escape from bankruptcy by demanding his labour at a lower figure.

For the whole people to form one sovereign legislative assembly, the State cannot be very large. Nations will be resolved into myriads of sovereign cities or communes. These cities may federate together for mutual protection. Some Socialists, however, are opposed to the idea of federation, as infringing the liberty of the several component States. Some indeed go so far as to wish to get rid of the State itself, as barring the free action of the individual. But these are madmen.

Socialism, to be successful, would need to embrace the civilized world. Otherwise the threatened capitalists would hasten to transfer their wealth to countries where private capital was still allowed. It might even be worth while for some State to stand aloof from the Socialist movement, thus to grow rich at her neighbours' expense.

3. Socialism a Romance.

Still, man fell from Paradise, and might fall from Socialism. And it yet remains to see whether the Socialist State would be a paradise or a pandemonium, a heaven or a hell on earth. That will depend largely—chiefly, perhaps—on the spirit in which it is worked. But we must consider whether the institutions are such as, taking man as he is, are likely to be worked in a good spirit. The first advances of State Socialism were made more than two thousand years ago. They were confronted by one of the keenest practical intellects that ever lived, with this emphatic condemnation:

“This style of legislation wears a good face and an air of philanthropy. No sooner is it heard than it is eagerly embraced, under the expectation of a marvellous love to grow out from it between man and man, especially if the proposer goes on to inveigh against the evils of existing institutions, setting all down to the want of a community of goods. These evils, however, are due, not to the want of a community of property, but to the depravity of human nature. For experience teaches

that disputes are far more likely to occur among people who possess property in common and live as partners, than among those who hold their estates in separate tenure. The life proposed appears to be altogether impossible.”¹

There are a great many minds who are unable to withstand a brilliant picture set before their imagination. Their intellect is fascinated, their reason dazzled: they take what is set before them without argument, and hold it in spite of argument; it is so airy, so romantic, it must be true. Socialism has made way under this advantage: it is a charming Utopia on paper.

4. Political Difficulties of Socialism.

The first difficulty about the scheme is a political one. Pure unmitigated democracy is to Socialism the very breath of its nostrils: for if the State owned all capital, and privileged classes ruled the State, where would the workman be? But pure democracy is a very hard government to work. There is no instance in history of its working over a large area and for a long period of time. But the area of government duties in the Socialist State would be very large indeed. Not only would it include all the functions of government proper, as at present carried on, but likewise the supreme management of business throughout the country. To be sure, those functions would be simplified by the absence of competition, but even in their simplest form the administrative duties would be enormous. The State might have armies of clerks to work for it: moreover, the several gilds, as proposed above, might each conduct their own affairs; but there would always remain the appeal to the general assembly, an appeal that would be made continually. The assembly, unless it were willing that the government should pass into bureaucracy and oligarchy, would exercise an active and meddlesome supervision over the gilds and their officers. It would be a body huge and unwieldy, established on the principle of a vote for every man, and every man one vote. Obstruction would flourish there rank and impassable,

¹ Aristotle, *Politics*, 2, 5.

like the growth of an Indian jungle. The labour of legislation would supplant the labour of production. The people would be voting supplies when they should be working for them. To "run," as the Americans phrase it, the Social Democracy, there ought to be, as there was at Athens and at Rome, one set of men to work as slaves, and another set to legislate and adjudicate as citizens.¹ Thus only would there be shoulders broad enough to bear the immense burden of sovereign and proprietary right combined, which Socialists wish to devolve upon the sovereign people.

We are told in reply that the General Assembly, in Socialist times to come, will consist of people so highly educated, so wise to discern their own best good in the good of the commonwealth, so very unlike all people within our experience, the British House of Commons included, that there need be no fear of obstruction, over-legislation, partisanship, or any other of the infirmities that have beset popular assemblies in the past. In other words, we are requested to discard all the lessons of history in judging of Socialist proposals. By what other canon is it possible to judge them except the experience of the past? "What is it that hath been? The same thing that shall be."

Peoples have their favourites as well as kings. The favourite of a Social Democracy would be a very formidable personage. The lives, liberties, and property of all would be in his hands. It is the way of the multitude in politics to overlook principles which they cannot understand or see the application of, and stand by persons who excite their enthusiasm and sympathy. To these persons they blindly commit the management of concerns, as our large-tongued James committed himself and his kingdom to "Doggie Steenie." But this devotion to what our forefathers in Cromwell's time called "The Single Person" looks ominous for popular liberty. If ever in the Socialist State a Fighting Gild—

¹ Rousseau was shrewd enough to see this. He says of the Greeks: "Des esclaves faisaient ses travaux: sa grande affaire était sa liberté. . . . Quoi! la liberté ne se maintient qu'à l'appui de la servitude! Peut-être. Les deux excès se touchent" (*Du Contrat Social*, iii. 15.)

in other words, a standing army—shall rise up by the side of the other gilds, the people may find some day that they and all their capital have passed into the ownership of a military despot.

5. The Proletariate.

So much for political difficulties. They have been the difficulties of democracies in past times, and Socialism will not be exempt from them. Rather, as being the most democratic of democracies, it will experience them in an aggravated form. There remains a social difficulty peculiarly incident to the constitution we are now considering. The only source of private wealth here will be wages. That is to say, wages will be the only lawful source: but it is not to be expected that the greed of having, and the dislike of working, will be extinguished in the heart of man. On the contrary, when wealth by the force of law and public opinion is made a mere thing to squander and enjoy, men will first scrape together a little wage, then quit work altogether and spend their earnings wildly; then come back with less inclination than before to work, agitate for higher wages, abuse their foremen, rant and cabal in the Assembly, steal the wages of a more industrious neighbour, embezzle the gild-money; or they will borrow at usury, as gamblers contract their debts in disregard of legal sanction, from some canny workman who will let them have part of his wages for a consideration. Saving money for commercial gain is certainly not the noblest motive that a man can have for suppressing his spendthrift and riotous appetites: yet it is a motive, and one which poor humanity can ill afford to lose. That motive is flung aside and lost by Socialism.

There is an ugly foreign word, unknown to our fathers, that Socialists now use as a watchword, the Proletariate. It means the people who have nothing but their labour to live by, and who give birth to children as poor as themselves. Socialism promises to be the enfranchisement, aye, the enthronement, of the Proletariate. But Socialism once established would witness the speedy development of a Proletariate within

the Proletariate thus ennobled and crowned. In the days when the workmen are to have all, and all are to be workmen, there will grow up in the vitals of this new society a class of drones, of workmen who have gone to the bad ; degraded, debauched, and dissolute creatures, whom no gild will employ, and who have no mind to belong anywhere where work is to be done. People like these — “stinging drones” Plato calls them — are, in countries like England and France at present, systematically coerced and kept under by force, the doing, Socialists say, of the *bourgeoisie*. But in the new republic to come they will be emancipated, on the principle that one man is as good as another : so they will sway from side to side like unsecured cargo in the hold of the political vessel. Their votes in the Assembly will be bidden for by the political adventurer, the Clodius of the future : one day they will shout for a Clodius, another for a Cæsar. This is the revolution that is preparing in the womb of the Revolution itself.

It may be said that Socialism will disfranchise these drones, every man that will not work, and treat them as criminals. But that would be to make labour obligatory, an intention which at least some modern Socialists disclaim. Besides, once disfranchisement sets in, many may be found to deserve it.

6. The Iron Law.

The right and left arm of Socialism in argument are Karl Marx's Theory of Value and Lassalle's Iron Law of Wages. We will deal with the Iron Law first. There is a certain level of wages, the lowest that is sufficient to enable a workman to live and work, and leave children behind him to go on working when he is dead. If wages sink below this level, numbers of workmen die : and the scarcity of labour in the market brings wages up again to their normal level. If that level is exceeded, more children are born to working people, and more live : thus in time the labour-market is glutted and wages sink. The conclusion is that, as things are, the lot of the labouring classes can never be permanently improved : they and their children have nothing to hope for but a bare subsistence : they are iron-bound in toil and

penury. Whence the further conclusion is drawn, that the labouring classes must break up the established order and the distinction between labourer and capitalist.

The Iron Law professes to state things as they must be. The first verification of such a statement is by comparison with things as they are. Now, looking at things as they are, we find that the Iron Law has been broken, is being broken, cancelled and removed, by the action of the Trades Unions. Socialists themselves explain that what they call bare subsistence must be taken with a certain latitude. It includes more in Queen Victoria's reign than it did in Queen Anne's. It means more for an Englishman than for a coolie. So the term may be stretched until it comes to signify quite a comfortable existence ; and when that limit is reached, the workman need no longer complain of the Iron Law. It depends in some measure on the workmen themselves to keep wages up towards this limit. This has been the object of the Trades Unions, an object not unsuccessfully pursued. There are always two limits to wages, a superior and an inferior. The superior limit is the utmost that masters can afford to give ; the inferior is the least that workmen can afford to take. If the superior limit is past, the master closes his business : if the inferior limit is not attained, the workman dies of slow starvation. Where labour is very unproductive, the superior limit falls down upon the inferior : where the productiveness of labour generally is very great, the superior limit rises high above the other. That is the workman's opportunity. Then let him combine with his fellows to ask a high price : the master can afford it. Then he may live and flourish, and snap his fingers at the Iron Law.

The workman who does fall a victim to the Iron Law is the unfortunate person who, for one cause or another, cannot belong to any Union, and is glad to eke out a livelihood at any sacrifice. He comes under the operation of the "sweating system," and the worst of it is that he (or she, for it is too frequently a woman) is glad to be "sweated," the alternative being starvation. At this price of human misery we are supplied with cheap goods. But we need not raise the demon of Socialism to be rid of the sweating system. A more

innocuous and more effectual remedy would be to relinquish the cheap goods, and pay honest prices for our luxuries to provide fair wages.

7. Karl Marx's Theory of Value.

But the right arm of Socialism, as I have said, is Karl Marx's Theory of Value. He presupposes the distinction between worth, or value in use, and value in exchange, or market-value. The *worth* of a thing is the esteem which its possessor has of its utility to him. Thus the convenience of being ferried across a river, thereby saving a seven miles' walk when I am short of time, has a worth in my eyes equal perhaps to £1. The market-value of that same passage, the ferry being a public one, is 1d. Value in exchange is measured by the commercial price of any article, or of a service rendered. Karl Marx, then, reasoned thus. The exchange value of a commodity, he said, is the amount of human labour that has been put into it. Take, for instance, a regimental coat. There was, to start with, a sheep, a work of nature; but the shepherd laboured to rear and feed it, and to shear it: there was the carriage of the wool, the dyeing it, the manufacture of it into cloth, the tailoring. There has been large use of machinery in these processes, but the machines were made by man. The value of the coat is all this labour added together, all the human labour that such a coat involves. Moreover, Marx goes on, labour is estimated by the time that it takes a man to do it. Thus the value of the coat is the amount of man's time that has been spent in making it. It is obvious to object that at that rate the slower the workman, the more valuable the work. Marx replies that by time we must understand the time which an average workman would take over the task.

I waive for the present another objection with Marx's reply to it, and proceed to show how this theory is pursued to the destruction of capital. Suppose we have before us a consignment of five thousand regimental coats, fresh from the premises of Messrs. X. Y. Z., military tailors and outfitters. The coats are of considerable value: that is, they represent not a little of man's

time spent in making them. Who created that *value*? The man, it is answered, whose time and labour has been spent, and is contained as it were *jellified* in those coats. But who are those men? X. Y. Z.? Not a bit of it. Y. and Z. are away perhaps boating on Lake Lucerne; and X. has not been on the premises more than two hours a day, and has never laid a finger on the coats in any stage of their manufacture. The men who created that value are other workmen going before, and finally the workmen or "hands" of Messrs. X. Y. Z. But now who will pocket the price, the equivalent of that value? Messrs. X. Y. Z. will take it, and divide into three portions. With one they will pay for the raw material and machinery: one will be paid to their workmen as wages: the third portion, it is said, they will put into their own pockets, and on it live in luxury, doing no work, creating no value, but consuming the lives and devouring the labours of other men. Messrs. X. Y. Z. are capitalists. That third portion which they take to themselves, is termed "surplus value." Karl Marx proposes to abolish Messrs. X. Y. Z., and distribute that surplus value among the hands that created it, the workmen.

It is time to go back upon the objection that we waived just now. A carver in wood spends his time in turning out wooden imitations of cakes of Brown Windsor Soap. In ten days, working eight hours a day, he has turned out two hundred of these wooden tablets. No ordinary carver could have done the job in less. The man goes about to sell his products and can find none to buy them. In vain he relates how long he took to make them, and babbles of labour-jelly and Karl Marx: the public will not have them. They are no use. This brings Marx down to saying that by labour he means socially useful labour, or what society esteems such. Here is a vast alteration of the theory. Value, which had been all reduced to labour and time, is found to contain a totally different element, social utility. So the value of labour itself is not the mere labour and toil of it, not the mere time that it took, or would have taken an average man; but the issue or outcome of the labour to society is an important factor in its value.

It further appears that there are various orders of labour, some more useful to society than others, and therefore more valuable, time for time. In other words, we must consider the quality of labour, not merely the quantity. The attempt to reduce labour of high quality, or the best skilled labour, to quantity by referring it to the time spent in education or apprenticeship, is futile and absurd. Lord Wellington drove the French out of the Peninsula in something like five years: how long would it have taken an ordinary soldier, with Arthur Wellesley's education, to do the like? How long would the Duke of York, of Walcheren celebrity, have taken to do it? As in war, so in medicine, literature, engineering, politics, business management, art, there are men whose labour is quite incommensurable with the labour of their fellows. There are born aristocrats, a nobility of nature's own creation. And there is every grade of quality between one man's labour and his neighbour's, the difference arising partly from natural endowment, partly from advantages of position. Thus the little finger of Cæsar or Crassus is thicker than the loins of Drom : half an hour of Cæsar's thought does what Dromo could not do in weeks, perhaps not in centuries. So blind, so misleading, so outrageously neglectful of the facts, is this conceit of reducing all value to labour, and all labour to time.

To return to Messrs. X. Y. Z., their "hands," and the regimental coats. These coats are valuable, not merely as representing a certain amount of labour, but as being tolerably well adapted to meet a public need. But who thought of adapting them? Who foresaw the need and was forward to meet it? Who set up the machinery, improved and perfected it, bought up the raw material, got together the workmen, inspected and controlled them? All this is the doing of capitalists, not of the hands. It is not hand-labour, but it is labour of the highest social utility. Unless this be done, all the labour of the workmen is of no use at all, and has no value. So I have seen four horses dragging a load of timber up the slope of a hill, straining and bending to the weight, and by their side at his ease walked a man urging the animals with low cries: the horses carted the timber, but

the man carted it too, the former as physical causes, the latter in the way of mental and moral causation ; and as the man would have been helpless to move the timber without the horses, so the horses without the man could never have carried it to any good end. But it will be urged, the capitalist is a man and the workmen are men too : the workmen then may replace the capitalist. Not if they continue to be workmen, that is, hand-labourers. You cannot have every one working with his hands. There must, as Socialists allow, be directors, statisticians, managers, whose work is mental, not manual ; there must be men set aside for mental labour, as others are made over exclusively, this to one, this to another narrow province of manual labour. The labour and use of capitalists, and the value they create, are proved by the vast bureaucracy which Socialists are compelled to think of instituting in order to replace them. It is no more fair to deny the capitalist his profit, and call it unjust gain, because one has imagined a contrivance to work in his stead, than it would be fair of a capitalist to defraud his labourers of their wages, in view of a dreamy vision of machinery to come whereby he shall no longer need them. The present actual creator of social utilities is to have his reward in the present ; the coming man may look for his at the justice of future generations.

It is only fair to X. Y. Z. to observe that they do not spend all the so-called surplus value in living riotously : that is what Socialists advise workmen to do with the said surplus, when it comes to be distributed amongst them. But X. Y. Z. capitalize great part of it, and provide for work and production to come. Their investments are not always judicious, it is true ; but it is generally better to invest than to squander. More production means of itself higher wages ; and less production, lower wages.

Pressed by arguments like these, Socialists sometimes change their key, and tell us that at any rate Messrs X. Y. Z. are wonderfully well paid for their personal contribution to the value of their goods. As one puts it, "half the cake is a pretty dear price for overseeing its baking." But how many capitalists get half the cake, or a net profit equal to the sum of wages and

other working expenses put together? Perhaps there ought to be higher wages; certainly the capitalist has other duties to his workmen besides paying them their wages; but it is a law of nature, from which even the Socialist Commonwealth will not be exempt, that the superintendent be better paid than the journeyman baker.

Under the direction of intelligence, labour has vastly increased the wealth of the world, an increase which Socialists are never weary of enlarging upon, while they forget that it is due, not to common labour merely, but also to the intelligence of the capitalist setting common labour to work under advantageous conditions.

8. The Unproductive Rich.

Beaten out of their first position, Socialists take up this second and stronger ground. "Granted that some capitalists can rightly claim a reward as productive causes, for example, a gentleman farmer, or the managing partner in a factory, or the lessee of a coal-pit, what shall we say of the young nobleman who owns this pit and half a dozen others, and who is lounging about Pall Mall or Rotten Row, with less knowledge of coal than a housemaid, and with less brains than four-fifths of the miners?"

Personally, of course, he is not a productive cause, though his money is. But what good comes to society of his having that money and that exemption from all personal labour of production? Why this, that such sinecures are the prizes of the intellectual labour that is thrown into the work of production. The managing partner, and the coal-pit lessee aforesaid, toils and moils in the hope that, before the evening of life, he shall have reached an opulence which shall enable him to spend the rest of his days exempt from the labour of producing, and moreover to hand over his store, undiminished by his period of rest, to his children. His ambition is to *found a family* in wealth. He works that his posterity may not have to work as he does. An ignoble desire, you say: but a potent moral cause of production.

This second and further good comes from the exist-

ence of a class of unproductive capitalists, that society has available an array, as it were, of pensioners, who can, and who as a class do, undertake and perform a mass of ministrative duties. Of this class are our Cabinet Ministers, and our higher Public Service generally, our clergy, authors, scientific investigators, musicians, artists, poets, the men who refine our taste and brighten our lives. Society exists not for consumption alone, nor for consumption chiefly, and quite as little for production alone. Socialists, who are fond of the fable of the Belly and the Members, may remember that some organs in the body minister to higher purposes than those of nutrition and reproduction.

The class, then, of unproductive capitalists is valuable to society. The drones, who are found in this class as in every other class, and well-nigh in every family, high and low, should be induced to such labour as they are capable of by public opinion. There is no harm trying to render their position uncomfortable, even by law, if that can be done without destroying greater store of goods than they at present idly consume. For example, they may be taxed in proportion to their laziness and their luxury, if need be : but they are not a reason for overturning the whole Social Beehive, in the hope of building up the comb afresh on unnatural lines of Socialism.

9. The Healing of Lazarus.

There is no lack of remedies proposed. Temperance, Thrift, Emigration, National Insurance, Co-operation, Profit-sharing, all have their advocates, all are good in their way, none of them is all in all by itself. I have yet another remedy to add. It is not Charity, as that word is commonly understood in England. The science and art of almsgiving must be studied and practised by charitable societies for the relief of the sick and wounded in the battle of life, who cannot help themselves : but we do not want all the working classes on the sick list.

We must contrive to have fewer sick and wounded, by giving the workman a better chance of doing a stroke for himself. He has higher claims than those of charity

on his employer. There is a virtue which the old schoolmen called *piety*: we might English it *family-feeling*. It imports the habitual love and care which the members of a family ought to have one for another. Family is from the Latin *familia*, by which the Romans understood all who were under the *paterfamilias*, namely, the wife, the children, (called *liberi*, or free subjects), and the bondsmen (*servi* or *famuli*, literally the *doers*, or workers, whence the name *familia*, from *facio*, I do). We need to have the principle recognized, that workmen are part of the family of their employer, understanding *family* in this wide Roman sense: that he is their *paterfamilias*: that between him and them there exists a personal relationship, the observance of which is matter of the virtue of *piety*. Now *piety* is a virtue that binds with a closer tie than justice. It is justice to give to another his own. Justice supposes two terms, the giver and the receiver, mutually distinct. Therefore no man can be just to himself, strictly speaking. Nor does hard, fast justice run between those who are in some sense identified as one moral person, as between father and son, husband and wife, master and servant. This is the teaching of Aristotle. If the father harms the son, or the master the servant, he harms himself, a more wicked piece of mischief than is injustice done to a stranger. This was the personal relationship, the family connection between master and man, recognized in theory at least in the ancient world, where there were slaves; recognized in the Middle Ages as the relationship of lord and vassal; and most cruelly discarded in modern times by the substitution of the conception that finds expression in the terms *employer* and *hands*.

The bond of family must be strengthened, and the sphere of duty of the *paterfamilias* enlarged. It is the depreciation of family ties that leads up to the rankest State Socialism. To that goal our large Companies, with their agents and "hands," are unconsciously tending. But the tendency may be arrested, and even Companies become paternal, by wishing it, and by delegating to their various agents in command of their workpeople the office of a father, not without support of course from the Company's purse. Thus a station-master might be

responsible for the Company's servants employed under him, not merely as touches the Company's interest, but for their individual well-being, short of fussy interference, for there is excess in all things.¹

It will be said that this taking of workmen within the family circle will mean their employer spending money on them over and above the wages that he pays them. A frightful supposition truly! Horrible to think of obstacles being thrown in the way of the amassing of wealth! Perhaps the selfishness of the master may find comfort in the Aristotelian teaching, that he who spends on his workpeople, that is, on his family, spends on himself. Perhaps he may reflect that his men will work to greater production by being better fed, better housed, less brutal, less immoral, and more loyal to his person. After all, there is something beyond mere breath in the "For he's a jolly good fellow." I fear, however, that the employer who starts this objection has but a poor idea of the end and purpose of money-making. Either he regards it as a means to enjoyment and ostentation, or as an end in itself. In either case he is a selfish man, a plague and embossed carbuncle in the flesh of society. Capitalists of this mind—sober, respectable men as they are reputed to be—are to blame for the present and past misery of our labouring population. If no capitalist is possible except money-grubbers like these, it is waste of words to argue against Socialism: the Socialists are right, and Capital stands condemned. The true end of money-making is for the good of the man's own family, whereof his workmen count for part, for the good of his native city or district, and for the good of his country. Whoever does not appreciate the motto, *Non sibi sed patriæ*, is unworthy of a high position amongst mankind.

But, in these present evil days at least, it will be

¹ "It is a good investment in a money point of view, but far more in other ways, for a railway company to provide houses for its station-masters, porters, platelayers, and signalmen. A company in good credit ought to be able to build houses more cheaply than other people, and can afford to let them to its servants at a lower rent than people who build houses merely for profit; and it is much to the advantage of the company to keep their men together, giving them an interest in the company both while at work and when off duty."—*Railway Appliances*, by Barry (Text-books of Science), pp. 190-1.

urged, it is all that the masters can do to keep out of the bankruptcy court: if they spend any more on their workmen, they will be clean ruined. One thinks of Macduff's keen inquiry, "Dost thou say all?" All these cotton-spinners who rent the parks of decaying noblemen, all these provision-dealers who dress their wives in diamonds, all employers of labour who find money to fling away in the extravagances of the London season, who yacht in the Mediterranean, and fish in Norway, and buy up art-treasures in Italy—all will be ruined by an increase of attention and expenditure bestowed on the poor who are the props of their fortunes! There certainly are capitalists whose backs another straw would break, and who are not now in a position to treat their workmen handsomely: these petty potentates in due course of nature must perish from the ranks of Capital. It is much more certain that they will perish than that their wealthier brethren will awake to a sense of their duty. The times are unfavourable to small undertakings. Too many moneyed men have taken up the position of employer, attracted by the profits, and not thinking of the responsibilities; now the profits are gone, and they must go. The burden of employership must rest on broader shoulders.

10. Co-operation.

Hobbes, in the frontispiece of one of his works, exhibits the bust of a human figure, whose head, breast, and shoulders are made up of men packed together. We may take this for a figure of a Co-operative Society. Co-operation may open a great future at once to the small capitalists and to the working man. It has certain drawbacks, notably the difficulty of getting good managers; still the cause looks hopeful. Even more hopeful still is Profit-sharing, which gives workmen a direct interest in the profits which their labour helps to produce. The effect hence anticipated is to make "industrial divisions vertical, not horizontal," the workman's interests being "bound up with those of his employer, and pitted in fair competition against those of other workmen and employers" (Jevons).

11. Honour to Masters.

Flattery of the lower orders is as base and mischievous as the flattering of kings. It is plain truth to tell, and wholesome to hear, that the great multitude of the poor, who are always with us, have a choice to make, an alternative dictated by nature, between misery joined to independence on the one hand, and comfort along with dependence on the other. In the present deplorable state of society a third alternative widely obtains, to wit, abject misery and dependence conjoined. But if ever the good time comes when employers as a body shall take up an attitude of fatherly *piety* toward their men; shall abstain from gains, the outcome of paying a starvation wage; shall see to the housing of their people, shall visit them, know them, and be proud of their bright, happy faces, as of the young olive-plants about their own table: if ever this shall come to pass, it can only be by the workman assuming a reciprocal attitude towards his employer, an attitude of respect, love, and loyalty, and a readiness to consider his master's opinions—in fact, obedience without servility and deference short of blind worship. The employer cannot be a father, where the employed will not behave like a son. A grown-up son, if you like, and emancipated from paternal dominion, but a son for all that, mindful of the Commandment, "Honour thy father." The old song must no more be heard, "I care for nobody," with its doleful addition, "and nobody cares for me." The workman must put away at once the pride of independence and the grief of the castaway.¹

12. Augury of the Future.

It is presumptuous to prophesy, but one may hazard a guess as to distribution of wealth in the future. First,

¹ In time, however, the dismissal of a workman may become so heavy a ban as to require a court of arbitration to pronounce it. In time too we may revert to the old Saxon rule, *no man without a hlaforð* (lord); *i.e.*, no labourer at a loose end, destitute of land and capital, and not belonging to any employer, or *gild* or *gang* of working men. Sudden spurts of work may then be met by contracting with the foremen of these gangs or gilds, or with other masters for the loan of their staff.

then, there will be large private capitalists, with or without profit-sharing. These will be incorporated frequently in wealthy companies. Small capitalists standing by themselves will grow fewer and fewer. Hesiod of old sang :

Small craft praise and admire, but stow thou thy wares in a large ship.

So it is, that trade is entering into waters where nothing will float but either large argosies or large flotillas. Secondly, there will be individuals of small means, half capitalist and half workman, banded together in common enterprises of Co-operation and Profit-sharing. Thirdly, most wonderful event of all, there will be large municipal or communal property, mills, mines, stores, land, and particularly workmen's dwelling-houses. Local government in those days will be vastly developed, and great part of the total taxation will be under municipal control. In that day, the working man will have the shrewdness to perceive, that it is much more his interest to have a potent voice in the management of municipal affairs than in the government of the empire. Municipal capital, therefore, will be fairly controlled by the workers : it will not be mere matter of *bourgeoisie* jobbery. The men employed in the corporation works will live in the corporation dwelling-houses. The liberal treatment they receive, so to speak, at their own hands, will compel all private employers and companies, if they mean to find men to work for them, to treat their workpeople well, and especially to see them well lodged. But this is Socialism ! No, it is not. Socialism allows of no private capital whatever. I look forward in ages to come to see private capital and communal capital working side by side in amicable and advantageous competition, the presence of either operating as a corrective to the peculiar abuses to which its rival is liable.

13. Need of Motive Power from Above.

In considering this or any other sketch of arrangements contemplated, we must stand on our guard against what is perhaps the master delusion of Socialism : I mean the idea that any imaginable constitution of society

whatever has virtue enough in itself to render oppression impossible. Happiness and good order do not spring from mere environment. Perhaps it is their habitual conversation in mills and workshops that helps Socialists to imagine that human well-being might be manufactured like any other product, could we only erect the requisite machinery. Give a man, they say, an interest in the interest of his fellows ; let him find himself benefited in the common good ; and he will remain indeed selfish as before, but his selfishness will work no harm, it will all turn to the good of the community. In being selfish he will be public-spirited. He will commit no crime against society, simply because he will be beyond the reach of temptation. How can a man steal, who abounds in bread ? or commit adultery, where there is every facility for divorce ? or be idle, when by wages he must live ? or perjure himself, when he believes in no God ? or commit murder, when every man he meets is his partner and help-mate ? How indeed ? Shrewd old Aristotle has an answer to the point, which I think worth quoting with some adaptation here :

“It is not only for the necessities of life that men commit crime, for which Socialists think to find a remedy in the confiscation of capital, so that people may not turn highwaymen for cold or hunger ; a further temptation is the longing to get gratification and appease desire. For if people have a desire of something beyond the necessities of life, they will commit crimes to satisfy that craving. Nay, they will form to themselves artificial desires, that they may have gratification without paying for it by previous uneasiness. . . . As a matter of fact, it is the superfluities rather than the bare necessities of life, which are the motives of the most heinous crimes. Men do not usurp a kingdom to get out of the cold. . . . It is solely as a preventive of petty crimes that the principle of the Socialist polity is efficacious. . . . No doubt there is a certain advantage in Democratic Socialism as a safeguard against the rivalry of classes, but it is nothing to boast of. For in the first place the men of light and leading, the possessors of ability and ingenuity, will take umbrage at not being set above the rest, as they deserve, and will turn to attacking the Constitution and sowing

sedition. And secondly, *there is no satisfying the greed of human kind.*¹ People are content at first with an allowance of two shillings, but no sooner is this the constitutional sum than they claim a larger one, and so on *ad infinitum*. For it is of the nature of desire to extend indefinitely, and the mass of mankind live for the gratification of desire."²

Aristotle mentions philosophy as a remedy. Under a purely natural dispensation philosophy would have been the guide of life. But in the present order of Providence, not philosophy but the faith of Christ is appointed to lead man to his goal. That goal is beyond this world, that we may so pass through the good things of life as to arrive at eternal joys. As things stand, there is no way to those joys except by faith in Christ. Christian "godliness is profitable to all things, having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come."³ It is a mistake to look upon Christianity as a necessary institution indeed for bringing up men for heaven, but a drawback and disadvantage to their temporal estate.⁴ Mankind cannot prosper as a race unless they live for heaven ; and living for heaven in the actual order of things means Christianity. There is no other name under heaven given to men but the name of Jesus, whereby we must be either saved eternally or rescued from present social miseries. There is no other love but the love of Jesus Christ, that can take the selfishness out of a man. Demagogues, philanthropists, are all selfish—they want to advertise themselves, unless the love of the Crucified has taught them the art of self-suppression. There is nothing but the vision and hope of good things beyond this world, that can thoroughly loosen a man's heart from honour and money and what money can buy.⁵ But we need

¹ The Professor of Greek in the Socialist Commonwealth will often have these words on his lips.

² Aristotle, *Politics*, ii. 7, with slight adaptation.

³ 1 Tim. iv. 8.

⁴ Pius IX. in the Syllabus, n. 40, condemned the proposition that "The doctrine of the Catholic Church is adverse to the interests and well-being of human society."

⁵ "No conviction that unselfishness pays, has ever made any man permanently and persistently unselfish" (Balfour)

unselfishness and detachment—poverty of spirit, in fact—that human society as a whole may thrive and prosper. If a man looks upon intoxicating drink as the supreme good of humanity, that very persuasion disqualifies him for taking his drink wisely. Part of the reformation of a drunkard, or of any sensualist, is the creation in him of higher tastes. But whoever takes the supreme good to be money, whether in the shape of capital or wages, it matters not—whoever has set his whole heart on money and its incidents, is as incapable of using his money well as the drunkard his wine. Whatever we take to be the supreme good, we want to have as much as possible of it for ourselves—the drunkard all the liquor he can carry; the worshipper of wealth and wages, all the money and luxuries he can lay his hands on. Both men are thoroughly selfish: they are unfit co-operators in any social scheme: they will wrangle and squander, peculate and revolutionize. I speak of what will occur in the world generally. Man's nature needs to be spiritualized that we may deal with temporal goods unselfishly. Never was there greater infatuation than the Socialist proposal, to set all mankind a-hungering after material goods alone, and then to make men up into fraternities and co-partnerships, in the fond expectation that they will not rend and prey upon one another. The survival of the fittest—in popular language, the weakest to the wall—is a stern law of nature. It works itself out too little checked in the present capitalist system. It will work itself out under any system than can be proposed, Co-operation, Profit-sharing, Socialism—except it be counteracted by the further law of faith, hope, and charity, causing the stronger to hold their hand. But Socialism rejects faith, hope, and charity. It levies war alike on Capital and on Christianity. It has yet to learn that Christianity is the stronger institution of the two.

SOME ECONOMIC CRITICISMS OF SOCIALISM¹

BY ALEXANDER P. MOONEY, M.D.

I.

SOCIALISM is a subject very much talked about at the present time, but not always understood. It is very necessary, therefore, to endeavour to get clear ideas about it, for the propaganda in its favour, which has been a marked feature of Continental politics for many years, has now become a permanent part of English political life. Since the formation, under the auspices of the Labour Representation Committee, of the English Labour Party, quite a number of Socialists have obtained seats in Parliament, not, indeed, as Socialists, because the Labour Party does not adopt Socialism, but as Labour representatives. Their position, however, as Labour representatives, does not debar them from advocating Socialism, nor from using the prestige and importance of their position to advance the tenets they hold. There is, in addition, a very vigorous, untiring, and well-organized propaganda carried on throughout the country by the numerous branches of the Social Democratic Federation and of the Independent Labour Party, the two wings of the English Socialist party, and by the Fabian Society, which

¹ This pamphlet and its sequel, *Some Ethical Criticisms of Socialism*, are the substance of lectures delivered to Catholic working class audiences in Preston during the winter 1906-7.

appeals mainly by tracts and speeches, and does not yet attempt direct political action.

That these efforts are not fruitless is shown by the increasing support given to Socialist candidates at the polls, and by the undoubted permeation of Trades Union organizations with Socialist ideals.

It becomes very necessary, therefore, to investigate Socialism and examine its claims, for it promises great things to its adherents.

The New Gospel.

It practically sets forth a new social gospel, by following which we are to arrive at conditions of happiness and comfort such as the world has never before witnessed ; we are, in a word, to get rid of all the social inequalities and most of the human miseries which now exist. The privileges of wealth are to cease to be the monopoly of the rich—for there are to be no rich ; the privations of poverty will disappear—for there are to be no poor.

That such a gospel has gained a numerous following is not to be wondered at, especially among those who feel most of all the pressure of poverty, or labour, or both.

Now, if Socialism can do all that it promises, and if its attainment does not involve the sacrifice of the higher interests of mankind, most of us would be greatly inclined to enrol ourselves among its adherents ; and if it be true that all the disadvantages of social inequality, and most of the material evils of our present civilization, can with assurance be expected to disappear by the adoption of Socialism, then, indeed, it may be taken for granted that the revolution in social organization, which the theory of Socialism demands, is certain to come. But that is the very point which needs proof, and it is with the purpose of examining Socialism in the light of its promises that this lecture is undertaken.

The Two Bases of Socialism.

Socialism has two aspects—first, it is a theory of economics ; and secondly, a system of society and of social organization. The two aspects are not inseparable, but they raise problems differing in character, and we will in this pamphlet deal solely with such questions as group themselves round the economic and industrial side of Socialist theory, leaving for examination elsewhere certain moral problems which call equally for consideration.¹

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Socialism not New.

Socialism is by no means a new thing. Aristotle, in his *Politics*, discussed one form of it sketched by his master Plato, only to reject it as impossible, human nature being what it is. In various shapes and guises it has been advocated at different periods of history. It was a cardinal feature in the teaching of the Albigenses, of the Anabaptists, and of various other sects, who often combined with extravagant religious theories equally extravagant social ones. Since the closing years of the 18th century, theories of social equality have found new life. The social conditions inaugurated by the breaking up of the old framework of society, which was partly the result of the French Revolution, and partly the outcome of the new organization of industry following on the invention and perfection of machinery, resulted in a revival of Socialistic theories as a solution of the evils which accompanied these changes.

Modern Socialism.

Thus we find Babeuf (guillotined 1797), Saint Simon (1760-1825), Fourier (1772-1837) in France, and Robert Owen (1771-1858) in England, advocating in various

¹ See *Some Ethical Considerations of Socialism*, C.T.S., 1d.

forms a socialized organization of society. But their efforts made very little impression upon the world at large, and it was not until Karl Marx (1818-1883), "the giant pathfinder of Socialism," "the greatest teacher of Socialist parties in the world,"¹ by his writings (especially his book on "Capital"), reduced Socialism to a system, and formulated its principles in scientific fashion, that any real progress was made in securing a hearing for it.

To this result Marx's friend and co-worker, Frederick Engels, and the great German agitator, Lassalle, contributed in marked degree.

From Germany the movement spread with various fortunes over the Continent, and into this country and America. To-day it has numerous adherents in all these places, for the spread of popular education, the remarkable cheapening of literature, the universality of the cheap press, and the enormously increased facilities for distributing these vehicles of discussion, have been accompanied by a greater interest in social problems as in other subjects.

The "deadly parallel," the contrasts between wealth and poverty, luxury and want, flaunt themselves before the eyes of all in forms that will not be denied recognition; and the Socialist seeks for his proselyte among those whose hearts are touched and whose indignation is aroused by the contemplation of those inequalities that mark the existence of human beings at the two extremes of the social scale.

The modern Lazarus, it is true, is less and less inclined to take the crumbs for his portion. He rather insists on sitting down at table with Dives, and on the whole the sympathy of the world goes out to him. The world, as well as Lazarus, is now rather inclined to the materialistic view of things, and present good is pursued in preference to any ultimate hope. The

¹ *Vorwärts*, No. 62, 1894, quoted by Cathrein.

Socialist, in particular, demands his paradise on earth ; in his aims he is purely materialistic. " Blessed are the poor in spirit " is *not* one of the Socialist beatitudes, and, so far from the endurance of poverty being regarded as in any way virtuous and praiseworthy, the very existence of such a condition is the chief reason and justification for all Socialist effort, and is the base upon which the Socialist gospel is built.

Socialism and Social Reform.

Before going further it will be useful to make a distinction between Socialism and " Social Reform." It is important to remember that the considerations and criticisms which will follow are directed *entirely* to Socialism—the Socialism of Marx and Engels, of Kautzky and Bebel, of Jaurès and Ferri—of that international movement that is represented in this country by the Social Democratic Federation, the Fabian Society, and the Independent Labour Party. By many people Socialism is often confounded with Social Reform. It is true that many purposes are common to both. Socialism and Social Reform have each as their purpose the improvement of social conditions, but they pursue this purpose for different ends and on different lines.

We can *all* be social reformers ; we are, in conscience, bound to help our fellow-man. Whether we can be Socialists is one of the questions which can be better understood and better answered when we have considered what Socialism is and what it leads to.

Socialism, the Patent Medicine.

There is a feature of Socialist propaganda that must be borne in mind in any consideration of it : namely, that its advocates are unanimous in declaring that Socialism is a certain cure for social evils. They leave no room for doubt about it. They are never weary

of proclaiming its unfailing efficacy. They are certain that in no other way can social evils be remedied. If I were to be asked what, in my opinion, was the most characteristic feature, the distinctive mark, of Socialism, I should say it was "cocksureness." The Socialist believes, or professes to believe, in the efficacy of his gospel as a social medicine with an absolute faith. He advocates it with the same energy and the same advertisement of its virtues as Beecham does his pills or Veno his "Lightning Cough Cure." Are there social evils? Socialism is their cure. Poverty, unhappiness, the unequal conditions of existence, the hard life of one man and the easy life of the other, are all in his scheme due to economic conditions, and can be abolished or remedied by the adoption of Socialism, and by no other means. Now this is a great and serious claim, and deserves very serious consideration.

Historic Experiments.

Yet if we come to examine what evidence there is that this claim is a just one; if we ask the Socialist to give us some tangible proof, some historical evidence, that his system will do all he claims for it, he is put in a difficulty. To the question, "How do you show that your system will be a remedy for all the undoubted ills that exist in the social organisation?" he can only answer, "It *will* be a remedy," and he can only repeat, as he is never tired of repeating, that from the very nature of his scheme it *must* remedy these evils. Now, though he can devise and sketch imaginary socialized societies, he cannot point to a single instance in the history of the world where a community or a nation has adopted this system and thriven on it. On the contrary, the only instances in which the scheme *has* been tried have ended in disastrous failure.¹ His-

¹ E.g. the "New Harmony" foundation of Owen, Cabet's Icarian Colonies, the Oneida Settlements, &c.

tory, then, is against the Socialist, but he explains this by saying that the time has not been ripe for an extensive trial of an organization of society on a Socialistic basis-until now, and that to succeed it must be worked upon a national or international basis. He will tell you that the partial Socialistic efforts made by small communities were foredoomed to failure, and he will urge again that an examination of his proposals, and a proper understanding of them, will convince any right-thinking man not only of their feasibility, but of their certainty of successful working. Let us therefore examine the proposals of Socialists and see if they are what they are represented to be, and whether the organization of society, as they propose it, is quite as simple a measure as they seem to think.

Let it be clearly understood that, in my arguments, I shall use, as far as possible, the words and ideas of the recognized teachers of Socialism, so that no one shall be able to allege that my presentation of the subject is a fictitious one. There is nothing to gain and everything to lose by misrepresentation, and it is no part of my plan to score a temporary advantage at the expense of truth. I shall draw upon the authorized gospel or gospels of Socialism for my materials, although, as those who pursue the subject are likely to find, these occasionally differ violently from one another.

The Purpose of Socialism.

Socialism, then, seeks to overthrow the present order of society and to establish an entirely new order in its place.

At present the wealth of the world is held by individual owners. Each one of us is a "capitalist," as it is called, in a greater or lesser degree. In the Socialist State there would be no individual capitalists. *The whole of the capital would be held by the State—*

that is, by all the people who constitute the organism called a State. Although, on the one hand (roughly speaking), no one would own anything, on the other, every one would own everything. That is the principle of *collective ownership*. Thus, the whole of the land, the mines, the quarries, the workshops and the factories, with all machinery, tools, and all other instruments for producing articles, would be owned by the State, which would be the sole producer and manufacturer, and also the sole distributor or shopkeeper. All railways, steamboats, and means of transport would therefore also be held by the State. The State would have to determine what kind of articles and how much of them are to be produced or manufactured ; how these goods are to be distributed, and the proportions in which they are to be distributed. No private individual would be allowed to produce anything except as a State labourer or for his own personal use.¹ That is the first principle of Socialism as expounded on the Continent and in America and England to-day. "The collective ownership of all the means of production." That is why Socialists usually call themselves Collectivists. Now let us get clearly into our minds, even at the cost of repetition, what this means. The State—that is, the whole community of individuals who compose it—are to be the joint owners, each one as much as the other, of *all* the instruments of production, distribution, and exchange. Land, with all that it produces and supports, mines, minerals, all the raw materials of use and commerce, all the factories and workshops, all the tools and implements—everything that can be produced or manufactured, and everything that can be used in producing or manufacturing, will belong to the State ;

¹ By Socialism is meant "the establishment of a political power—in place of the present class State—which shall have for its conscious and definite aim the common ownership and control of the *whole* of the world's industry, exchange, &c."—*Catechism of Socialism*, Bax & Quelch, p. 5.

that is, equally to every man, woman, and child composing it. There will be *no* private property in the sense we know of it ; or at most only to a limited extent—that is, to such extent as is comprised in the possibility of personal use.

An Important Question.

Now, before we go any further, let us ask this question, a rather important one—How is the State to become possessed of all these things? Either their present owners must give them up of their own free will, or they must be bought out, or they must be expropriated—that is, turned out by force and violence from the things they possess. Now the first of these alternatives is hardly likely to happen. Human nature being what it is, it would be the wildest of dreams to expect that the present owners will voluntarily hand over their possessions to the State.

Will, then, the State purchase all these things? This is hardly a promising solution, for, in the first place, whence will come the money for their purchase and how will it be raised? Or, if it is left as a charge against the State, as some Socialists propose, how, with such a heavy handicap at the start, can it hope to prosper? Think of what it means. The capital invested in English railways in 1902 was nearly £1,300,000,000. That is one branch of industry alone. Now take into account the cotton industry, the iron industry, the shipping industry, and the host of other manufacturing and distributing agencies, and add to that the value of the land of the country, and we arrive at a total that is so vast as to be with difficulty grasped by the imagination. Purchase on anything like equitable terms does not seem a possible or practicable solution, and, to do the propounders of Socialism justice, they carefully avoid promising to adopt it. Some of them do indeed suggest a system of purchase,

but with limitations that make it more like a species of theft than purchase. Such solutions as the payment to present owners by bonds, which can then be heavily taxed until the charge is extinguished, or by terminable annuities, are only forms of deferred confiscation and resemble the Chinese method of execution by taking off a slice at a time. On the other hand, there is a school of Socialists who make no secret of their plan of simply clearing out the present proprietors by force. They are the revolutionary Socialists of various degrees, and are pretty numerous on the Continent and in America, and include most of the Social Democrats in this country. In this connection it is worthy of note that one of the chief items in the programme of the Social Democratic Federation is the "repudiation of the National Debt." As all the money in the Post Office Savings Bank and much of the money in many other savings banks is invested in Consols, that would include the confiscation of all the savings of thousands of thrifty people who have put aside small sums, often by great self-denial. I do not know how far a programme of this kind will receive assent, but a very elementary sense of justice would place the ordinary man in revolt against it.

The advocates of expropriation justify their action by reasoning that all property is the outcome of robbery, and that consequently it is almost a virtue to dispossess those who own it, but neither history, philosophy, nor political economy can be appealed to for support for such a contention.

However, for the purpose of discussing the practicability of a Socialist State, let us put aside the difficulty of acquiring possession of the instruments of production, &c. Let us suppose the apparently impossible case to occur: that in some fashion or other, either by purchase, gradual processes, or some sudden and successful revolution, we have arrived at the stage in which the

Collectivist State has come into being. Obviously we must suppose also that this revolution has been world-wide, or nearly so, for whatever internal advantages might accrue to the members of such a State, there would be no guarantee of their permanence if one or more strong individualist and military States existed outside their borders. Such States would be a constant menace, and a constant source of attraction to those ambitious and intelligent men to whom the rewards of a Socialist State would appear insufficient. And I will pass over with simple mention the other problem that suggests itself, as to what would happen if the inhabitants of countries ill-favoured by Nature, of scanty resources, or of ingrained poverty, desired, as would be quite natural, to enter countries whose natural endowments made them desirable residences.

We will leave aside these difficulties, however pressing and fundamental they may be, and take it for granted that such a State has been established and can hope for some stability, and we will now examine some of the problems that will present themselves for solution.

We must recall first of all that the common ownership of everything productive has given to each citizen exactly the same rights as every other citizen. Master and servant, rich and poor, become words without meaning, for where all are equally rich and all have an equality of ownership such differences could not exist. And Socialist teachers and the platforms of Socialist conventions lay down as a fundamental tenet of their creed that there must be an equality of rights and duties in the State. Every one will have to work in order to live, and all will have the same claim to remuneration. Whether a man serves as the head of a great department, planning and arranging the host of details that his office demands, or whether he is engaged in the humblest function that depends upon the great

man's policy, there cannot in fairness be any distinction made between their pay. Each one will give so much time—so much socially necessary labour, as Marx has named it—and therefore each one will deserve the same reward.

In such a State, then, certain problems will arise, the solution of which must be considered before we can realize what the conditions of existence will be, both for the State and for the individual. I know that many leading Socialists urge that such discussion is futile. First, they say, realize the Social Revolution, create the Social State, and the problems will be easily settled; they will, in fact, settle themselves. That is the doctrine of Jaurès, the French leader, and of Ramsay Macdonald, the Englishman. But that is like asking a man to pull down and destroy his well-built and well-appointed house because of certain defects in its arrangements before showing him the plans of his new one. It is as though an architect should promise a palace of beautiful design, of unheard-of splendour and conveniences, and yet decline to produce any working plans to justify his promises. Yet this is the line of argument often adopted. Socialist writers are, however, very like other writers. They may deprecate the discussion of details, yet these details are so vital to their scheme that in their writings they have been led, when expounding their views, to a description of things as they will be in the Socialist State. We are thus enabled to examine and criticize not only their anticipations and promises, but also the social conditions which they conceive will follow the adoption of their ideas. Marx, Engels, Bebel, Stern, Kautzky, Ferri, and even the cautious Ramsay Macdonald, have all written books which may be studied with profit and which offer a foundation for the considerations I shall now advance. The chief problems of the Socialist State may accordingly be grouped as follows ;—

- I. How will the work of production be organized ?
- II. How will the produce be distributed ?
- III. How will labour be organized and distributed ?
- IV. How will labour be paid ? (and, interwoven with these questions,)
- V. How will the equality of rights, which is the essence and foundation of Socialism, be maintained ?

The Problems of Production.

We will consider these questions in order, and to begin with we will investigate the problem of the organization of production, *i.e.*, we will consider how in the Socialist State the providing of all materials will be managed. First of all let me remind you of the volume of trade in this country. In 1904 imports and exports amounted to 922 million pounds-worth of goods. This gives us some idea of the size of the work to be undertaken. At present this huge volume of trade is managed by a host of individuals, each one of them more or less a specialist in his work. Businesses are organized by men who seek out markets and endeavour to supply them ; who have agents abroad and at home, keen to make their work succeed, for success means wealth and failure poverty. In Preston, for instance, with cotton for our principal industry and many subordinate industries, we find businesses which have grown up in long years, with agents in Manchester and markets all over the world. Think of the number of mills, workshops, and manufactories in this town, each managed by men to whom success means independence, wealth, ease, power—each owner a specialist in his business, ever seeking to keep, to consolidate, to extend his business, and finding work for the workers as the result of his energies. Now multiply these local activities by all the cities, towns, and villages

of the kingdom, and you have the total activities that result in our huge volume of trade. How will this vast business be managed in the Socialist State? It is all to be in the hands of one central authority—with local agencies whose sole business it will be to carry out the directions of the central authority. This is freely recognized by Socialist teachers and writers. It is the essence of their case that production must be centralized and regulated by a supreme authority acting on behalf of the community. Thus this central authority will have to regulate all this vast volume of business; to co-ordinate it, so that there shall be harmony not only in the productive effort in each business, but in the relations of each business to every other. Accordingly in some vast centres there will be gathered together directors, statisticians, clerks, joining in one all the myriad threads that bind an industry together, and not for one industry only but for every industry—a huge agglomeration of men that will dwarf our present central offices into utter insignificance. In these centres will be gathered all the actual moving forces to keep going the apparatus of production. From them will issue the directions that will organize all work and all distribution of the products of labour. And note here, that there must be no failures. War Offices and Local Government Boards may make mistakes and the vital interests of the country feel it little; but in these new centres a mistake at once affects the whole of the State; for not only must each central authority for one industry act for itself, but it must act in perfect accord with every other industry, or confusion will be worse confounded. Let us see more closely then

(a) What manner of work these centres will have to do, and

(b) How they will arrange to get their orders carried out,

The Task of the Central Authority.

First, what will these central authorities have to do? They will have to determine at regular intervals, as the result of inquiries and estimates previously made, how much of each product *will be required* for a given time.¹ Take, for instance, the amount of cotton goods. They will have to ascertain the requirements of the whole State in every article of cotton material for whatever period they make their estimate. This involves a register of the requirements of every individual in the community, that is to say, of some forty millions of people in this country, in every variety of cotton goods, from the baby's shirt to Sunday frocks. Then the varying tastes of each will need some consideration, unless every one is to be compelled to adopt the patterns and texture provided by the State. Unless the nature of woman changes, a condition of this kind would, alone, wreck the whole calculation.

Again, we must remember that production in the Socialist State is primarily for use, and that surplus goods would represent labour wasted, so that it becomes of the greatest importance that the register of requirements shall be exact. But besides, there will have to be considered what production may be necessary for exchange. We cannot, for instance, grow cotton here: therefore we must buy it from abroad, and we can only do this with goods in exchange.² Now the same inquiries that will be requisite for cotton goods will be necessary for every other article in use, from thimbles to bedposts, and from Sunday clothes to china dishes. Can you conceive what an army of officials will be requisite for this purpose—to register

¹ See Kautzky, *Morrow of Social Revolution*, p. 24.

² The value of cotton imported in 1906 was over £56,000,000. We imported during that year also food, drink, and tobacco value £238,158,156, and raw materials for manufacturing purposes to the value of £211,478,327. Practically all these imports are paid for in manufactured goods,

and estimate the varied requirements of forty millions of people, to make the complicated inquiries and calculations that will be necessary to determine what production is needed for exchange—and what tabulating and summarizing will have to be gone through to arrive at a definite result? It takes some years for the Registrar-General's Office to make out the simple details of the census. You can imagine, then, what proportions this function would assume and what an army of unproductive workers it would employ. And it must be repeated at short intervals, for the increasing or diminishing population will necessitate regular revisions of the estimates.

I do not suppose it is just to say that this *could* not be done, but it is, I think, obvious that it would be an enormous work, liable to great errors and consequent failure and waste. And add to this that the central authority, having found out the amount necessary to be produced for use and exchange, would then need to distribute or arrange for distribution the produce of the country so that at every centre there would be an ample supply of materials to meet the needs of the community. There must be in Preston and Liverpool, say, the articles that Preston and Liverpool will need. One can easily realize that we are in presence of a task so colossal, that it requires no less an imagination than that of the professional Socialist to see it successful and to conceive of its satisfactory working.

The Organization of Labour.

But I have not yet done with the work of the central authority. When they have determined the amount and variety of articles to be produced, they have got to see that each industry has its proper quota of workers, each located in the district where the work is done. It will be no use estimating how many yards of cotton or loaves of bread the community will need if the authority

is not able to depend upon a sufficient number of workers to produce them, and if it cannot insist upon the permanence of the working population where they are produced. Therefore they must in some way be able to determine the number of people who must (to keep to my illustration) engage in the cotton industry and in the various occupations that will be needed to produce the bread ; and they will need the authority to insist upon this quota of workers being supplied and *kept* in the localities arranged for, or their labours will be entirely nullified, their calculations brought to naught, the whole machinery of production upset.

This brings me to the further questions : how will this labour be supplied ? and how will these offices be manned ? We at once meet a difficulty that Socialists find some trouble in answering, for underlying it is the problem of assigning to each person in the State the work he has to do. Remember that in the Socialist State we shall all have the same education, the same upbringing, the same *start*. At such times as it becomes necessary to join the army of workers, our vocation in life must be settled ; the most vital question to every one must be answered, viz., What is *my* job to be ? How will this be done ? Will each person choose his own work, or will it be chosen for him—a labour that, willingly or unwillingly, he must take up ? Many Socialists maintain that each one must be free to choose for himself.¹ Now note first of all, that in the case where each one has liberty to choose his work for himself, the problem of organizing production, which, as we have seen, is an absolute necessity, will become an impossibility, for there will

¹ Bebel, *Die Frau*. "Each one determines for himself in what occupation he wishes to be employed." Ferri, *Socialism and Positive Science*, p. 16, argues that men will "prefer the work for which they feel they have the most ability." Kautzky, *Morrow of the Social Revolution*, pp. 16-17. "As the workers of course will not be drafted into the different branches of production *irrespective of their wishes*, it may well turn out that some will have a superfluity of labour while others will suffer from scarcity."

be no means of depending upon having a sufficient quantity of workers in a particular branch of industry at a given time. If, for instance, the central authority estimates the coal production necessary for, say, a year, at a given amount, it will be necessary to have a given proportion of miners to get it out. But if, as is not unnatural, that number of men may not be willing to engage in the laborious and painful task of extracting coal, their estimates would be unrealized and the whole course of manufactures interfered with. For if occupation is to be a matter of choice, which occupations do you think will be most sought after? Will men prefer to work in evil-smelling chemical works, in digging out sewers, in cleaning chimneys, in coal mines or in blast furnaces, to working, say, as gardeners, or clerks, or attendants in shops—I say nothing of desiring the places of power and influence that must exist even in a Socialist Commonwealth. Well, working men are very human, and they must answer that question for themselves. If, on the other hand, the central authority or the local authority is to decide what occupations each one must follow, what an intolerable slavery it will result in! At present we have some freedom—at the outset of life there is a choice of *some kind*—and the man of energy and ambition can generally escape from work he dislikes; he can change his employer, or even find another occupation. In the Socialist State, if work is assigned, he will have to obey; for only thus can the given quantity of labour in each industry be maintained. Some Socialists endeavour to get out of this difficulty by saying that the more objectionable occupations will be better remunerated, and that the workers in them will only have to work very short hours. But, if the hours of labour are shortened, more men will be needed to do the same work; so that the lowest and most debasing forms of work would need great numbers of workers, who would thus be with-

drawn from the higher industries, which in turn would be crippled. And no matter how the difficulty was determined, it is quite clear that the great principle of equality of rights and equality in the conditions of life would *not* be maintained. Furthermore, to reduce the amount of work or raise the pay for these lower occupations would be a direct denial of the Marxian principle of value (upon which the whole doctrine of Social Democracy rests), which is, that all socially necessary labour is worth the same ; and that, no matter how men are employed, equal amounts of such labour are equal in exchange value. Besides, even with the solutions offered, we are confronted with this difficulty, that the army of miners, sewer-diggers, stable-cleaners, and street-sweepers would be called upon to work for a shorter time for the same or better pay than is given to the artist or physician.

Bebel has found another solution. He says that the citizen of the Socialist State will be so educated that he will be capable of undertaking, not one, but any of the duties in a Socialist State ; so that in the department of health, say, the man who one day empties the refuse into the Communal refuse-cart, may on another day feel your pulse and prescribe for your sickness. Or, in the department of defence, he may take his place as commander in the army that but lately knew him as a very humble private. He says,¹ "It is not at all improbable that as organization progresses, and the thorough education of all members of the social body advances, the different functions of labour will simply become alternate—that, at stated intervals, according to a fixed rotation, all members of a certain department, without distinction of sex, shall undertake *all functions*." And Marx asserts that his education in the new State will confer upon the workman an "absolute availability" ; that is to say, will make him available for *any and*

¹ *Die Frau*.

every emergency. Ramsay Macdonald, in *Socialism and Society*, takes the term "handy man" as used for the sailor, and employs it to suggest how, in a changed society, a man would have mightily increased powers. Well, is this sense, or is it nonsense? Take, for instance, the profession of medicine, in which the best years of a man's life may well be spent in getting a proficiency in one special branch: then consider how many different forms of specialism are now practised; and one *must* realize how utterly impracticable it is for a man to become proficient, not only in one branch of it, as surgery, or medicine, but even in one or two of its subdivisions. And yet Socialist thinkers are not afraid to venture the proposition that it is possible so to educate a man that he may in turn undertake the labours that fall upon the practitioners in every branch of the science and art of healing! Or, to use another illustration, they assume that a man will be able to undertake the duties of fireman, tackler, cardroom-hand, weaver, spinner, accountant, or manager in a cotton mill!

Are we far wrong in saying that mankind is not very likely to change much, and that not only is it unlikely that we shall ever be so omniscient and all powerful, but that we shall all be as keen in those days to get hold of a soft job as we are now?

Before I leave this subject, let me ask who is going to decide on the fitness or unfitness of an individual to follow a given vocation or to occupy a given post? The unfortunate authority whose task this is will need the wisdom of Solomon and the patience of Job, and yet be unsuccessful in pleasing the community. For if I thirsting to achieve great things in the realm of science or of art, find myself adjudged to be a letter-carrier or a bricklayer, do you suppose I shall be satisfied? Or is it not more likely that I shall seek out the other unfortunates who, like myself, have been given hard-labour,

and make common cause with them in fault-finding and in agitating against the injustice we feel done to us? I am saying nothing now about the appointments at the very top of the tree. I don't know how *they* will be made, nor does it matter, for I think I may leave that branch of the subject for each one to puzzle out for himself the problems it suggests.

The Pay-sheets of a Socialist State.

I have barely touched on the question of remuneration, but it will constitute one of the great difficulties in the Socialist State. How is labour to be rewarded under Socialism? This question is answered variously by different authorities. Some admit that it would be ridiculous to measure all services by the same standard—to determine that the poorest type of labourer, slouching through his ordained portion of work, should be paid exactly the same as the energetic, brainy man, giving expert and valuable aid in the higher functions of the social organism. And yet both are citizen owners of the property, both give equal labour time. How, then, shall any just distinction be made? Logically there cannot, and many Socialists hold that remuneration should be the same for all. But they argue that this will inflict no injustice, as each citizen will be so amply rewarded that there will be no room for discontent. Cathrein (*Socialism*, p. 267) quotes from Stern (*Thesen*, pp. 12, 13), the following description of life in the Socialist State. "Every one," says Stern, "who can show that he has performed a certain amount of labour has the most unlimited right to any species of consumable goods in any quantity he may choose to fix. He draws his clothing from the public stores, he dines at the public hotel on what he pleases; or, if he prefers, he may dine at home in a highly comfortable residence, which is in communi-

cation with the public hotels (by telephone, pneumatic-tube, and by whatever other inventions may be made in the meantime), whence he may in the most convenient way order his meals, just as he pleases ; or, if he prefers, he may have them prepared at home, or he may prepare them himself."

Now this is an alluring picture, but, as Cathrein pertinently observes, Stern omits to say who is going to serve his picture-man. Who is going to wait on him, cook for him, provide his drinks for him, and generally act as his servant? Yet this is a very important question to settle before the delights of such an existence can be regarded as practicable.

Another important consideration arises here, namely, what motives will operate to produce that quality of cheerful and energetic labour with which Socialists are so fond of endowing their citizens? or, rather, may we not ask, Will there not be many motives for taking things easy?

In the first place, there will not be the stimulus of increased reward; the worker will have no direct *personal* interest in doing particularly well: in the second place, the man who sets too hard a pace at work is not likely to be very popular. There would rather be a tendency to take things easy, when every necessity of life was assured, and neither landlord nor shopkeeper would come for their weekly pay. Thus the standard of production would be in danger of being lowered, and the well-being of the community thereby damaged.

So that, after this most cursory and necessarily imperfect consideration of only a few of the difficulties (there are many others) in the way of realizing the Socialist theory, difficulties which seem insurmountable, which show Socialism to be impossible, or at least impracticable, a political and economic will-o'-the-wisp, may we not, as a practical conclusion, challenge

the confident claim of Socialists to have found the one and only solution of social ills?

It is true that many Socialists are impatient of the objections set forth. It is a favourite device of English Socialists to pour ridicule upon them as applying only to what *they* call Utopian schemes. But, if it is true that the schemes *are* Utopian, it is because of the *nature* of Socialism, because *that* is the fundamental defect of Socialism. If the State is organized on a Collectivist basis, all the objections here set forth are *real* objections, and no amount of ridicule will enable Socialists to escape from them.

The English Socialists, especially those of the school of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, should rather be classed as "Nebulists," because their great refuge in face of difficulty is apt to be a vague, uncertain, and cloudy speculation. Their favourite device is to assure you that Society will never endure more Socialism at a given moment than it wishes¹ (which is true, but not very deep), or that every difficulty will solve itself (which may be true, but is not self-evident).

Socialists disregard the vast amount of human misery that springs *solely* from human frailty, and no economic change will so alter human nature as to avoid this. Wealth, or even comfort, is no guarantee against vice and passion, as the records of life in the wealthy and comfortable classes of society abundantly testify. There is no *economic* remedy for evils of this type—the remedy is a moral one, as I hope elsewhere to show.

Under these circumstances, seeing that Socialism is like the patent pill (which, according to its advertisement, will cure every evil, but, according to its results, cannot and does not), ought we as sensible beings to engage in political association with those who profess it as a political creed? Or ought we not rather to set

¹ See *Socialism*, by J. Ramsay Macdonald; T. & E. Jack.

before ourselves some practical end—to see if there be no other way of remedying such evils of our present system as are capable of being remedied? For we must keep in mind that many of the evils arise, as I have said, from defects of human character, from the absence of those very principles which the Christian religion inculcates. Christianity, say many Socialists, has failed to remedy them. But this is not true; could we induce mankind to be Christians, all the troubles of our social system would be greatly lessened. It is the old experience of the ideal and the real. Men may know and admire the perfect way—and follow the imperfect. But if Christianity is not a force strong enough to keep the world straight, what moral force is going to do more? Without Christianity the greater part of mankind would sink into mere animals, as they *did* in those great pagan empires that have passed away.

The fact is that Socialists are in error in alleging that there is no middle way between extreme Individualism and Socialism. Much *can* be done, under our present system, to improve the lot of humanity, by such legislation as will *humanize* the conditions of labour, secure a more equitable distribution of the products of labour, and make more tolerable and enjoyable and hopeful the life of the worker. Great progress has been made in the last half-century, as even many Socialists admit, and no doubt much more will be made by judicious legislation, with good will and wise forethought.

SOME ETHICAL CRITICISMS OF SOCIALISM

BY ALEXANDER P. MOONEY, M.D.

IN a pamphlet on *Some Economic Criticisms of Socialism*¹ are set forth a few of the economic difficulties that attend any attempt to reorganize society on a Collectivist basis. It was, of course, impossible, in the space available, to do more than make a selection from these difficulties. Some very pressing problems, such as the machinery of equitable distribution of products, the conditions under which art and literary production and the work now done by journalism would be carried on, had perforce to be left over. In the same way, in undertaking a discussion of some of the moral problems, which Socialism as a theory of society suggests, nothing more than an outline is possible—an outline, however, that will include the most important points.

The expression "moral problems" is used in its widest sense, and includes the relation of Socialism to human liberty, to religion, and to the spiritual life generally, to private property, to family life, and to education.

A Socialist Objection.

Some preliminary remarks will be useful to make the position clear. Many Socialist writers, in England especially, profess to be very indignant that Socialistic theory should be identified with the opinions of indi-

¹ C.T.S., 1d.

vidual Socialists. The weekly organ of the Independent Labour Party, the *Labour Leader*, for instance, as an effective retort, has been filling its columns with quotations from the opinions of Whig and Tory writers of various epochs, and adducing their unorthodoxy of view and the immorality of the life of noted politicians as evidence of the "immorality of Liberalism and Toryism." Further, Mr. Bruce Glasier, writing in the issue of December 6, 1907, endeavours to fasten on the Catholic Church a charge of looseness with regard to morality by a similar method. I will pass over the colossal ignorance of the subject which Mr. Bruce Glasier displays and the ludicrous character of his conclusions (he makes Cardinal Newman, for instance, figure as an apologist for vice!) and deal with the propriety of the objection made by Socialists to those who employ the opinion of Socialists as an exposition of Socialist views.

If it could be shown that these opinions had no reference to the teaching of Socialism, if they were merely personal expressions of individual view, made simply in the character of economists or moralists, the objections raised to their citation would be sound. To employ them, under such circumstances, would be a very unfair and unsound method of controversy. But what are the facts?

The expressions, upon which depend the arguments used against Socialism, are drawn from those writings and speeches of Socialists which are devoted to the advocacy of Socialism, and are an integral part of such advocacy, as will appear in the pages following. There is, therefore, a great difference between citing the opinions, say, of Engels, Bebel, and Ferri on questions of religion and morals from a Socialist standpoint, as these opinions are set forth in *Socialism Scientific and Utopian*, *Woman under Socialism*, and *Socialism and Positive Science*, and citing the opinions of John Morley, say, to prove that Liberalism is Agnostic, because from Mr. Morley's *literary* works it can be shown that Mr. Morley is an Agnostic.

In the one case the views are the logical result of the philosophy upon which Socialism is based—they belong

to it as intimately as the fruit does to the tree or the stem to its root; in the other case the views are accidental, and whatever philosophy they may be based upon, it is not the philosophy of their political creed.

We shall, therefore, be open to no charge of using unfairly the opinions of Socialist teachers as the basis for our consideration of Socialism if we confine ourselves strictly to the views expressed by them *as part of the setting forth of Socialism*. And this it is quite easy to do.

It is intended in this pamphlet to show that Socialism is based upon materialistic, that is to say atheistic, philosophy, and to discuss certain basic principles of Socialism that are antagonistic to Christianity. Afterwards it will be shown, from the writings and sayings of Socialist leaders, that they hold the atheistic and anti-Christian views which follow naturally and logically from these first principles. Finally, that on certain points these leaders hold and teach opinions that are quite opposed to morality as Christians conceive it, *e.g.*, on such topics as private property, woman, marriage, and family life.

Socialism and Materialism Defined.

Now, it often happens, in a discussion of this kind, that differences of opinion arise out of misunderstanding terms used, and to avoid this we will state what is meant when we employ the words Socialism and Materialism. By Socialism is meant scientific Socialism—the Socialism of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels—the international Socialism whose programme, formally promulgated at Gotha and subsequently revised at Erfurt, is the worldwide accepted and recognized authoritative exposition of the principles of Scientific Socialism. It comprises collective ownership of the means of production, and the distribution of produce on the basis, either of “to each according to his work,” or (as an alternative formula) “to each according to his need.”

The *New Catechism of Socialism*, by Bax and Quelch, puts it in this way: “By Socialism we understand that

system of society, the material basis of which is social production for social use ; that is, the production of all the means of social existence—including all the necessities and comforts of life—carried on by the organized community, for its own use, collectively and individually." And, further, they say, "Therefore Socialism would substitute social ownership [in the means of production] for class ownership, and this would involve the abolition of classes altogether."

By Materialism is meant that view of things which denies the existence of anything outside matter with its accompanying attribute, energy ; which regards all the phenomena of existence as arising out of the unending mutations of matter due to its inherent energy ; which regards mind as simply a function of matter. Consequently Materialism denies the existence of God, or of any spiritual being, and, as a logical sequence, regards religion, of whatever species, as a creation of men's brains, and as an illusion which cannot stand against the supposed supreme inductions of science. All the phenomena of existence accordingly are considered capable of interpretation upon a purely naturalistic basis, without calling in the aid of any outside power.

The Materialist Basis of Socialism.

The ground is now cleared for the purpose of showing how Socialism rests upon this materialistic basis. It must be borne in mind that Socialism has two aspects. It is, in the first place, a system of society, and in the second a theory of economics. Corresponding to each of these aspects there are basic principles—that of "the materialistic conception of History," as it is called, serving for the first aspect, and the theory of value (and its corollary the theory of surplus-value) for the second. As Engels says, "Two great discoveries, the materialistic conception of history and the revealing of the secret of capitalistic production by means of surplus-value ; these discoveries we owe to Marx ; *through them Socialism became a science.*"

This pamphlet does not touch Socialism as a theory of economics ; we are engaged upon its other aspect

only, and so we will now endeavour to learn more fully what is meant by "the materialistic conception of History," upon which Socialism is declared to depend. Briefly, that conception regards the history of mankind as a process of evolution, in which the whole superstructure of morals and religion, as well as the politics and laws of any given epoch, are due to and explained by the economic conditions of that epoch. In other words, the processes of production and exchange are said to be *the* ultimate causes of all the ideology of their period.

It includes, further, the law of the "formation of economic contrasts," which is the application of the Hegelian idea of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis to the phenomena of social changes, by laying down the principle that the economic framework established under one set of conditions gradually becomes unfitted for use as these conditions change. This brings about the decay and death, either suddenly or gradually, of this framework, and then is born out of its destruction a new system of society organization more in harmony with the economic conditions of the present.

Marx, who stated this conception of History, regarded the capitalist system as having thus outlived its appropriateness and usefulness, and predicted social democracy as the new system which must logically and necessarily follow on its decay.

Marx's "Materialistic Conception of History."

Now it is most important to note this fact, that this view rests entirely on a materialistic conception of the universe. As Engels says in his Introduction to *Socialism Utopian and Scientific*: "This book defends historical materialism. . . . Nowadays, in our evolutionary conception of the universe, there is absolutely no room for either a Creator or a Ruler." And in the same place, speaking of this conception of History, he says, "I use . . . the term 'historical materialism' to designate that view of the course of history which seeks the ultimate cause and the great moving power of all historical events in the economic development of

society, in the changes in the mode of production and exchange."

In the third chapter of this book (a chapter which shares with Marx's exposition of the same idea, in his *Criticism of Political Economy*, the distinction of being the best exposition of the materialist conception of history), Engels says: "From this point of view, the final causes of all social changes and political revolutions are to be sought, not in men's brains, not in man's better insight into eternal truth and justice, but in changes in the mode of production and exchange. They are to be sought, not in the philosophy, but in the economics of each particular period."

Marx expresses his theory in these words: "In the social production of their means of subsistence men enter upon certain necessary relations independent of their will, relations of production, corresponding to a certain stage of development in their material productive forces. The sum total of these conditions of production forms the economic structure of society, *the real basis upon which is raised an ethical and political superstructure*, and to which correspond certain forms of social consciousness. *The method of production in our material life shapes and determines also our entire social, political, and intellectual process of life. It is not the mind of man which determines his life in society, but, on the contrary, it is this life which determines his mind.*" In other words, the only source of all our ideas, whether political, social, ethical, or religious, is the economic conditions under which we live.

Thus we have set forth in the plainest terms, by Marx and Engels, the materialistic, that is, the atheistic, basis upon which the structure of scientific Socialism is built. All idea of God is definitely excluded—as Engels says, "there is no room for a Creator or a Ruler" in their system—and the same authority, in his preface to *Socialism Utopian and Scientific*, remarks that "Life, from its lowest to its highest forms, is but the normal mode of existence of albuminous bodies." Elsewhere he says, "Beyond Nature and Man there exists nothing," "Motion as well as matter can neither be created nor destroyed." So that there is not the

slightest room left for any doubt that the materialistic conception of History excludes, by its very nature, from all causative relation with the world and mankind a Supreme Being, or, indeed, any external force or authority whatever. God and God's providence is denied; matter and energy are proclaimed to be the only eternal elements; and all our ideas, whether social, political, intellectual, moral, or religious, are caused by the economic conditions of our environment, do not receive any illumination from without, and have not and cannot have any relation to a higher world or a higher Being, because neither the higher world nor a higher Being have, according to this hypothesis, any existence.

Now, the importance of this atheistic theory of History as the groundwork of Socialism is not minimized by Socialist writers. Bernstein, for instance, one of the intellectuals of German Socialism, says, "It is incontrovertible that the most important part in the foundation of Marxism, so to say, the fundamental law which permeates the whole system, is his specific theory of history, which goes by the name of the materialistic conception of History. With this theory stands or falls the principle of the whole system." And Belfort Bax, in his *Religion of Socialism*, writes, "It cannot be too strongly insisted upon, that either the theory of modern Socialism rests upon a solid historical basis, or it is nothing"; that "the truth discovered by Marx, that the basal factor determining the constitution of society is its material and economic conditions, must be for Socialists the key to the reconstruction of History."

The Makers of Socialism.

It is fair, therefore, to say that we have placed outside the range of controversy, from the words of the makers of Socialism, the contention we have been developing, that Socialism rests upon a basis of philosophic and historic materialism. And we may now proceed to show, from the opinions of Socialist writers and leaders, that they not only accept this view, but that they teach and enforce it in a manner that equally admits of no doubt.

Engels, in his criticism of Duhring, speaking of

Religion, says, "Religion is nothing but the fantastic reflection in the brains of men of those powers by whom their daily existence is dominated, a reflection in which natural forces assume supernatural forms." Bebel, in his book on *Woman*, writes in the chapter on the Socialization of the State, "Religion is the transcendental reflection of the social conditions of given epochs. In the measure that human development advances and society is transformed, religion is transformed along with it. It is, as Marx puts it, a popular striving after illusory happiness, that corresponds with a social condition which needs such an illusion. The illusion wanes so soon as real happiness is descried, and the possibility of its realization penetrates the masses." And in the same chapter he states, "It is not the gods who create man, but man who creates God."

Now this view of Religion harmonizes with and indeed follows from the basis of materialism, as has been demonstrated, and is capable of much fuller proof. But we must be contented with two more extracts, so as not to labour the point too much.

Belfort Bax, in his *Religion of Socialism*, sums up the relation between Socialism and Religion in the following words : "Socialism has been well described as a new conception of the world, presenting itself in industry as co-operative communism, in politics as international republicanism, in religion as atheistical humanism, by which is meant the *recognition of Social progress as our being's end and aim. The establishment of Society on a Socialistic basis would imply the definitive abandonment of all theological cults.* Not until the establishment of a Collectivist *régime* can the words of Algernon Charles Swinburne be fulfilled :

'Though before thee the throned Cytherean
Be fallen, and hidden her head,
Yet thy kingdom shall pass, Galilean,
Thy dead shall go down to the dead.'

(The "throned Cytherean" is, of course, Venus, the Goddess of Love of pagan mythology; and the "Galilean" is for us and millions of others the God and Saviour of the world.)

Our last quotation in this connection shall be taken from Robert Blatchford's *God and My Neighbour*, a book widely read by working men. He says, "I am working for Socialism when I attack a religion that is hindering Socialism."

"Christianity concerns itself with God and Man, putting God first and man last ;

"Humanism concerns itself solely with Man, so that man is its first and last care."

Now, what is the exact meaning of all these fine phrases? Simply this : that there is no God ; no Providence in the world ; no revelation : that our morality, religion, philosophy, and politics have sprung from the conditions in which we live, and from no spiritual power outside or inside us ; that the mind of man does *not* influence his surroundings, but his surroundings cause his ideas.

Ferri¹ puts this plainly. He says, "Socialism is . . . in complete accord with positive science, which denies the free-will of man, and sees in human activity, individual and collective, a necessary effect determined at the same time by conditions of race and environment," and further, "Morality, law, politics are only superstructures, effects of the economic structure."

So that according to Socialist theory there is, as I have said, no God, only eternal matter and force ; no revelation ; religion is a myth springing from the fancies of the ignorant imagination ; we are machines without free-will, and Christianity is a huge fraud and delusion, a superstition to be got rid of.

This will appear even more plainly later on. It would seem, therefore, that proof cannot go much further as regards our first proposition, viz., that Socialism as a science rests upon materialism ; and we will now pass to the second, which is that the ideals and aims of Christianity and Socialism are also opposite and antagonistic.

Antagonism of Christianity and Socialism.

The ideals and aims of Christianity are essentially spiritual ; the ideals and aims of Socialism are essentially

¹ *Socialism and Positive Science.*

material. Socialism seeks to promote man's happiness on earth by concentrating all its hopes on socialized production and distribution, on the abolition of classes and of social inequality. It does not heed any purpose beyond this life. It does not believe, to quote an often, repeated phrase, in "drafts on eternity." It even welcomes the disappearance of religious hopes because thus is strengthened the desire for a terrestrial paradise. As Ferri observes (*Socialism and Positive Science*), "*The disappearance of the faith in something beyond, when the poor will become the elect of the Lord, and when the miseries of this valley of tears will find an eternal compensation in paradise, gives more vigour to the desire of a little terrestrial paradise down here for the unhappy and the less fortunate.*" And again he says in the same chapter, "Socialism . . . tends to substitute itself for religion, because it desires precisely that humanity should have in itself its own terrestrial paradise, without having to wait for it in a something beyond. . . ." And Belfort Bax writes (*The Religion of Socialism*): "Socialism breaks through these shams [*i.e.*, the theological divisions of the world] in protesting that concern for the social whole is the one object of religion, and that the placing above this concern of any abstract theological ideal, be it Christian, Buddhist, or Mussulman, is, to use the old phraseology, an act of apostasy."

The Christian Ideal.

Now, against this material ideal, this terrestrial Paradise, as the aim and end of human effort, let us set the Christian ideal. "My kingdom is not of this world," said our Saviour to Pilate. "Seek first the kingdom of God and His justice, and all things shall be added thereunto." "What doth it profit a man, if he gain the whole world and suffer the loss of his own soul?" These are the central ideas of Christ's teaching. Our being's end and aim is not, as Bax puts it, "concern for the social whole," but it is to fulfil a destiny for which this life is only a place of trial. Our bodies are only the temporary resting-places for that spark of the Eternal, that likeness to the Creator which we call the soul; and the bodily wants and interests are to be subordinated

to our spiritual end. The comfort of the body is to be despised. "If any man wish to be My disciple," said Christ, "let him take up his cross and follow Me;" and He blessed the poor with an especial blessing in His Sermon on the Mount. To any one acquainted with the spirit of Christianity, it is only too easy to show how opposite and how irreconcilable are its ideals with those of Socialism, and the quotations here given must suffice. By those who will read the New Testament they can be multiplied as much as is desired.

A further antagonism between Socialism and Christianity is to be found in their respective doctrines and points of view regarding private property.

Although the question of private property is treated differently by the various schools of Socialistic thought, they are all agreed upon the principle of collective ownership of all the means of production, and this principle necessarily excludes anything like the modern idea of private property. The founders of Socialism had in view, without doubt, its strictest limitation, but experience has shown that the denial of all private property is so repugnant to an historic and unvarying characteristic of humanity, that later exponents have somewhat modified it. The cry of "Property is robbery," raised during the French Revolution, and repeated by Proudhon and Lassalle, has been dropped, and English Socialists in particular grow very indignant when the denial of private property is alleged against them.

But the fact remains that Collectivism *does* exclude all but the most meagre ideas of private property—indeed, if it did not, the foundations would be laid of disruptive tendencies that would lead to competition, and restore the very conditions Socialism seeks to abolish.

Christianity has always defended the right to hold private property as essentially just, and in doing so has always been in accord with the history of human character. The man who clears a farm in Canada and turns a barren area into a fruitful one has surely established an interest in the soil that no law or rule of political economy can rightly deprive him of. And if by toil and economy he can add to his holding so as to provide for his future and the future of his children,

public opinion and Christian ethics have always supported him.

The Socialist may reply that all this may be allowed, but such a man must not employ others; he must not "exploit" another man's labour. In other words, Socialism makes immoral the private providing of employment for others, although those others may have shown their incapacity for organizing and carrying out for themselves the very work they can do under the guidance and supervision of others.

The Catholic who desires to see this point treated at further length should read the summary of Pope Leo XIII's teaching in Mr. C. S. Devas's excellent manual, *Social Questions and the Duty of Catholics*¹ (pp. 13 and following).

Our main concern is that the teaching of Socialism on private property is in opposition to Catholic teaching. It is obvious that the commandment which forbids us to covet our neighbour's goods is clearly repugnant to a system that denies our neighbour's right to have goods. Our neighbour, according to Socialism, has no right to have fields, houses, or oxen for us to covet. It may be recalled that when the young man in the Gospel came to our Lord and asked what he should do to be saved, he was told to keep the commandments. But when he pleaded that he had done this, our Saviour added, "*If thou wouldst be perfect, go sell all thou hast and give to the poor.*" It is clear that the young man might hold his property and be saved; to give it all up for the sake of the poor was required only for the way of perfection. The Socialist counsel is different. It is to take all that every one else has and apply it, through the State, for one's own benefit. It has been aptly said that the difference between the Christian and Socialist ideals is the difference between "what is mine is thine" and "what is thine is mine."

The aims and ideals of Socialism may, therefore, be summed up as the pursuit of material benefit, of material and worldly happiness.

To have comfort, to gratify the senses, to live like a polished and contented animal and to die like one, is the

¹ C.T.S., 3d. net, cloth, 6d. net,

beginning and the end of Socialist purpose. It is frankly pagan. *Carpe diem, quam minimum credula postero—* “Enjoy to-day ; trust as little as may be to the morrow.” It cannot be otherwise. There is no soul, the high priests of Socialism tell us ; no life after death ; no spiritual element in us ; only senses and intellect : and the highest end we can set before ourselves is to secure that the senses and the intellect shall be gratified in every channel and by every means possible to man. That is the supreme achievement that Socialism can promise to its votaries. To use a famous expression of one of their leaders, they “do not believe in drafts on eternity.” Well, however attractive such a programme may be, it is *not* Christian ; it is anti-Christian, and some Socialists not only proclaim the fact but glory in it. No class of the community makes itself merrier over the contradictory titles of “Christian Socialism” and “Christian Socialists” than Socialists themselves. Here are extracts from a letter in an English Socialist journal,¹ which puts this quite plainly :

“DEAR COMRADE,—I am in full agreement with your correspondent where he says, ‘Our part as Socialists is not to attack people’s religion.’ I agree that it does not matter a jot what a man’s religious opinions may be, providing he is prepared to work hand-in-hand with his fellow-workmen to help on Socialist propaganda. But I disagree when he says, ‘We must try to make them put their religion into practice.’ It’s impossible. If they *did* practise their religion they would certainly not be Socialists. So, you see, I am perfectly agreeable to work with a Christian if he does not practise it. And if he does not practise it he is no Christian, but if he does practise it he is no Socialist.

“We hear much cant about ‘Christian Socialism.’ After all is said and done, *was* Jesus Christ a Socialist? If he was, then all I can say is that he had a very hazy conception of what Socialism means.

“In the Labour movement we find certain individuals endeavouring to introduce Jesus Christ in Labour ques-

¹ *Justice*, November 3, 1906,

tions, and would give to the present Labour movement a religious garb.

"It is amusing to hear these individuals exhorting the workers to follow in his footsteps and follow out his teachings. They trot him out as the 'First Socialist,' the 'Great Democrat,' etc.

"For my own part, I wish they would deal less with sentiment and a little more in plain facts, and then, perhaps, they would find he is not the great teacher that their imagination pictures him to be. . . .

"To sum up, I say emphatically that a really consistent Christian *cannot* in the light of Jesus' teaching be a Socialist."

These extracts reflect with tolerable fairness the views of the average Socialist, as any one who reads regularly the Socialist journals will recognize. Mr. Belfort Bax, whose authority as an exponent of Socialist opinion is undoubted, does not mince matters when criticizing the doings of the Christian Socialists. He says (*Ethics of Socialism*): "Lastly, one word upon that singular hybrid, the Christian Socialist. . . . The association of Christianity with any form of Socialism is a mystery. . . . It is difficult to divine a motive for thus preserving a name [Christian Socialism] which confessedly in its ordinary meaning is not only alien, but hostile, to the doctrine of Socialism."

The Socialist State a Secular State.

It is evident that the Socialist State, if it ever came into existence, would be a secular State. There is no need to multiply testimonies on this point. We will cite only from the Erfurt platform the following principle: "The use of public funds for ecclesiastical and religious purposes shall be abolished." And how could a Church exist in such a State? The public funds (*there will be no private funds*), the land and buildings, will belong to the State; every one must engage in production; how, then, would the Church find, and set apart for training, its priests, its bishops; what power would it have to regulate worship? what would

become of the religious orders? In other words, how much liberty—I will not say of action, but even of existence—would be left to the Church? Where would the labour, the materials, the land come from to build churches and schools, even if the practice of religion was tolerated? Now, what hopes there are of this happening we will measure by the sentiments of Socialist leaders which I am going to quote.

Bebel in his book *Die Frau*, speaking of the Socialist State, says, "If any one has still any religious propensities he may satisfy them in company with his kind. Society will not care about it. To make his living the priest will have to work, and, learning thereby, he will finally come to the conviction that to be the highest is to be a man. Morality has nothing to do with religion."

And a German Socialist journal, quoting the phrase that "under Socialism religion will be a private concern," says among other things that "Socialism as a philosophical system can have no other relation to the Church than to reject its soporifics and to wage relentless war on by far the greater part of its doctrines." These sentiments are a hopeful augury of the spirit in which religion would be treated, of the freedom of action which a Church would have. They are a pregnant commentary on the secularism that most Socialists desire. The conception of a State, of an organization of society which officially ignores the idea of God, not to say the idea of Christianity, runs through all Socialist programmes;² and whatever may be alleged on its behalf it is ridiculous to assert, as English Socialists often do, that it is anything else but in direct antagonism to the Christian ideal. They will "render to Cæsar [the democratic state] the things that are Cæsar's," but they take no account in their system of "the things that are God's."

The Anti-Christianity of Socialist Leaders.

It can be shown, from the opinions of most leading Socialists, that they hold the anti-Christian views which one would expect from the fundamental prin-

² See Ensor, *Modern Socialism*.

ciples of Socialism; such demonstration is, unfortunately, only too easy—would it were otherwise! We will make a selection from the views of writers and speakers of different nationalities, so that no charge of local opinion can be alleged against the selection; and we will begin with Germany, because it is, if not the birthplace, at least the country in which Socialism has had the most vigorous growth. Our first extracts shall be from the paper officially recognized as the leading organ of German Socialist opinion, the Berlin paper, *Vorwärts*.¹ In an article at Christmas-time it writes:

“We know that Christianity has not brought redemption. We believe in no Redeemer, but we believe in Redemption. No man, no God in human form, no Saviour can redeem humanity. Only humanity itself, only labouring humanity can save humanity.”

And in an article on Pentecost it says, “According to the Christian myth, the Holy Ghost came down on the first Pentecost. . . . Socialism is also a new doctrine, and proclaims the joyful gospel of redemption, but not of redemption through a Messias. May the disciples, to-day and to-morrow, pour out the spirit of Socialism upon thousands of unbelievers. This is our Pentecost.”

And at Eastertime it wrote, “On the day when international Socialism shall cast off the twofold yoke of mammon . . . the million-headed son of man—the labouring populace—will celebrate his resurrection. The celebration of that resurrection is *our* Easter-day, the Easter-day of humanity.”

Thus, we see, the commemoration of the sacred events in our Lord’s life is made the occasion of blasphemous scoffing at Christian belief, of the deification of humanity, and similar quotations might be made from all the leading *Continental* Socialist organs.

Bebel, the leader of the German Socialist party, said in the Reichstag (German Parliament) on December 31, 1881, “In politics we profess republicanism, in economics Socialism, and in religion atheism.” In his chapter on the Socialist State in his book, *Die Frau*, he declares, “The gods do not create men, but men create

¹ This, and many of the quotations following, are taken from Calthrein’s *Socialism*,

gods" ; and again, "The conviction that heaven is on this earth, and that to be dead is to be ended, will lead men to live a natural life." Now, if this means anything, it means that man can live like any other animal, but with this advantage, that he can prostitute his intelligence to increase his pleasures.

Liebknecht, another famous German Socialist, said at the Halle Convention, "I am an Atheist. I do not believe in God." And in 1875 he wrote, "It is our duty as Socialists to root out the faith in God with all our might, nor is any one worthy the name who does not consecrate himself to the spread of atheism."

There is a German Socialist hymn-book, the favourite device in which is to parody Christian hymns. There is a Christmas *Marseillaise*, for instance, which reads as follows :

"Oh, hope no more in ancient guise
To see a wondrous star arise
To lead thee to the Saviour's stable,
'Tis not the meaning of the fable.
Look up, a star is shining bright,
'Tis Socialism's beacon-light,
And thou thyself Redeemer art," &c.¹

And the lofty tone of morality which inspires Socialism may be seen from the following verse from the *Neue Welt*, by the Socialist poet Levy :

"Ha, your virtue we deride !
For joys hereafter you may wait.
With golden youth *we* will abide
With light and love in earthly state."

Paul Lafargue, a French Socialist, and son-in-law of Marx, writes, "The victory of the proletariat will deliver humanity from the nightmare of religion."

M. Viviani, the Socialist minister in M. Clemenceau's Cabinet, in his celebrated speech in the French Chamber, said, "We have allied ourselves to a work of anti-clericalism, we have torn from the souls of the people the belief in another life and in heavenly visions of a future state, as deceiving as they are untrue. We have told the man who pauses at the close of the day,

¹ Max Kegel, *Socialist's Song Book*.

crushed by his daily toil . . . that behind the cloud, upon which his weary gaze rests, there is nothing but celestial chimæras, and with a grand gesture of our hands we have extinguished the light of heaven, which will never again be re-illuminated."

And M. Hervé, another French Socialist leader, quoted by Harold Begbie (Interview, November 10, 1906), said, "It is absolutely necessary to destroy all vestige of religious idea, Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish, in order to carry out the entire programme of advanced Socialism," which, he said, "depends upon the disappearance of every form of theological influence."

At a convention of Spanish Socialists, held at Madrid, September 21, 1899, it was resolved to expel any comrade who supported positive religion.

The New-Yorker Volks-Zeitung, the principal organ of Collectivism in America, wrote, on October 9, 1901, "Socialism and belief in God, as it is taught by Christianity and its adherents, are incompatible. Socialism has no meaning unless it is atheistic, unless it declares that we need no divine help because we can help ourselves. Only the man who ceases to believe begins to feel that he can act. The labourer who relies on God—who in the piety of his heart assumes that all that God has done is well done—how can that same labourer develop revolutionary forces for the overthrow of authority and social order, both of which, according to his faith, are instituted by God?"

The same paper, at Christmas, 1901, wrote, "We do not believe in the Saviour of the Christians. *Our* Saviour will come in the shape of the world-redeeming principle of Socialism."

George D. Herron, once a Congregationalist minister, now one of the chiefs of American Socialism and Secretary for the U.S.A. in the International Social Bureau, puts the Socialistic antagonism to Christianity as follows. He says, "Every appeal to men to become Socialists in the name of Christianity will result in the corruption and betrayal of Socialism in the end. . . . People cannot separate Christ from Christianity. And Christianity stands for what is lowest and basest in

life. The Church . . . is the most degrading of all our institutions and the most brutalizing in its effects on the common life. For Socialism to make terms with [the Church] is to take Judas to its bosom."

There is no need further to discuss these teachings. They are only necessary to complete the demonstration of what we set out to prove, viz., that there is an essential and intrinsic antagonism between Socialism and the Christian belief. It is an antagonism that arises from the atheistic basis of Socialism, an antagonism that demonstrates itself with unfailing certainty in the doctrines, the aims, the methods, and the teachings of Socialism and Socialists. If this has not now been made clear, words have no meaning, and nothing under heaven can be proved.

The Family.

Let us pass now from this muck-heap, in which we have had to rake, to consider a topic which could not fitly be brought under notice and appreciated until we had set down the bases upon which Socialism rests. This is the question of the family, marriage, and education in a Socialist State.

The family and family life is the foundation of every well-ordered State. The existence of the family rests upon the permanence of the marriage bond. Anything that weakens the marriage bond is injurious to the family and to family life. Let us therefore see what effect the application of Socialist theories has upon marriage, and further what views are held by leading Socialists upon this subject.

The Erfürt platform calls for the abolition of all laws which subordinate woman to man in public and private life. This demand implies at least the weakening of the unity of the family, for the essence of family life is that there shall be a head. Who is to decide the dispute if man and wife disagree, say, as to their dwelling-place, or as to many of the details of a household where some one must have a supreme voice?

If all "subordination of woman to man in public and private life" is to be abolished, either there will

be no family life or there will be some danger that family temperature will become of abnormal heat. Marx has declared that modern industry, by assigning an important part in socially organized production to women, young persons, and children, is creating the economic basis for what he calls "a higher form of the family and of the relation of the sexes." What that means is foreshadowed by his statement that it is rather silly to consider the Christian Germanic form of marriage, or any other form of marriage, as absolute and unchangeable.

Ferri, who, being an Italian, must clothe his ideas in more fanciful guise, says,¹ "The free right of dissolution [of marriage], which was recognized in primitive society, has been gradually replaced by the absolute formulæ of theology and spiritualism, which imagine that 'free-will' can fix the destiny of a person by a monosyllable pronounced at a moment of such unstable equilibrium as is the period of betrothal and marriage. Later the reversion to the spontaneous and primitive form of consent is imposed, and the matrimonial union, with the custom continually more frequent and easy of divorce, returns to its origin, and gives to the family, that is to say, to the social cell, a healthier constitution."

Thus, so far as we have gone, we find Socialism tends to disturb the *foundations* of family life by assigning an unnatural equality to the woman, by making the marriage vow a matter of derision, and by advocating a freer system of divorce! Let us hear what comrade and leader Bebel has to say upon this subject. In the Socialist State, he writes, "the woman, in the choice of the object of her love, is no less free than the man. She loves, and is loved, and enters into the marriage alliance with no other regard than that of preference. *This alliance is a private agreement without the intervention of any functionary.* Man should be free to dispose of the strongest instinct of his nature as of every other natural instinct. The gratification of the sexual instinct is no less the personal affair of every individual than is the satisfaction of any other

¹ *Socialism and Positive Science.*

natural appetite. Therefore no one is obliged to render an account of such gratification, nor is any uncalled-for intermeddler permitted to interfere in this matter . . . If disagreement, disappointment, or disaffection should arise, morality demands a disruption of the unnatural and consequently immoral alliance."

This surely is free-love, as it is called, pure and simple. It is a return to savagery. It is a striking evidence of the morality of materialism, and may be regarded as affording us a clue as to the hope for the family in the Socialist State. It is interesting to quote views held by English Socialists and embodied by them in books advocating Socialism. Thus Leatham in *Socialism and Character* (p. 28) says, "The Social Democrats are heretical on the relationship of the sexes. . . . We believe in marriage 'for better or worse' only so long as both of the contracting parties are satisfied with their lot. *We hold that incompatibility of temperament ought to be sufficient ground for divorce, due provision being, of course, made for the children.*"

Mrs. Snowden, writing in the *Woman Socialist*, says, "It is more than probable that the ordinary church service will be abolished." Further on she says, "Under Socialism the marriage service will probably be a simple declaration on the part of the contracting parties before the civil representatives of the State." And again, "Recognizing the sanctity of their unions in marriage, Socialists will, nevertheless, seek to remove some of the ridiculous anomalies of our present divorce laws. Divorce will, in all probability, be much less frequently asked for under a reorganized society, *but it will be made more easy of accomplishment.* For if, after marriage, it is discovered that two people are absolutely incompatible in temperament, having acquired an unconquerable aversion for one another . . . the sufferer shall have complete dissolution of the contract with leave to enter into another marriage."

Compare this view of marriage with the teachings of our Saviour and the doctrines of the Catholic Church. Instead of an indissoluble marriage ("whom God hath joined together let no man put asunder") we have an easy arrangement, capable of dissolution

on such grounds as "incompatibility of temperament." Whatever such a theory of marriage may be, it is not *Christian*.

The Child under Socialism.

Now, that which forms the strongest bond of married life and family life is the upbringing of children. Their education (using the word in its fullest meaning) is the purpose that makes necessary the stability of the married state. But Socialism puts education, instruction, and maintenance into the hands of the Commonwealth. The Gotha platform demands "universal and equal education of the people by the State," and the Erfurt platform calls for "compulsory attendance at the public schools, instruction, use of all means of instruction, *and board free of charge*, in all public elementary schools, and in the higher institutions of learning," and so on. In other words, both the nourishment and the education of the children in the Socialist State would be a public affair. So that every motive that makes family life what it is, or *what it ought to be*—the dependence of children on their parents, the accepted responsibility of the father and mother, the mutual affection which this care and dependence engenders—would be unnecessary, and thus the chief purpose of family life would be taken away, and family life would suffer accordingly.

We must leave here our consideration of Socialism in regard to its effects as a theory and doctrine on religion and morality. But it can hardly be denied that we have established very strong reasons for asserting, from the teachings of Socialists, that their doctrine is directly, flagrantly, and bitterly hostile to religion and to Christian morals, and especially to the Catholic ideal and the Catholic conception of the family.

It must be carefully borne in mind that the picture drawn is not a fanciful one; it is a picture painted for us by Socialists themselves. We simply put it on exhibition—we see it as a whole; so that no evasion or concealment can enable the professors of this soul-destroying doctrine to escape the consequences of their belief. It is necessary to keep in our minds that,

knowing the essentially religious instinct which, thank God, lies at the heart of most people in this country, we are up to the present largely spared the blasphemies, the obscenities and brutalities, of the Socialist propaganda of the Continent and the United States. They will come to us a little later no doubt ; the advance army is just showing itself. The readers of this pamphlet, at all events, will feel no surprise when they appear, and it is only necessary now to put Catholics on their guard when they are assured that Socialism respects religion ; that religion is a private concern, and each man in a Socialist State will be free to follow his convictions. It is hoped that an end has been made of that falsehood, and that from now the slowest-witted and easiest-gulled among us will be able to say from absolute and certain knowledge that such statements are lies, and the people who make them either knaves or fools.

Liberty.

Finally, a word or two should be said about personal liberty in the Socialist State. It must not be forgotten that every citizen will be *absolutely dependent* for his daily bread on the State. Such a thing as a strike, for instance, could not occur, for the malcontents could be starved into submission in forty-eight hours. Whatever form of Government was adopted would be absolute, and a minority would be entirely powerless. It is true we should be governed by a democratic authority, but the absolutism of democracy is no more tolerable or agreeable than the absolutism of a Czar. Tyranny is just as unbearable from a majority as from an individual. And from the tyranny of the majority in a Socialist State there would be no escape except by death.

The Duty of Catholics.

The question arises here, very naturally, since Socialism is a movement full of danger to religion and to the spiritual interests of mankind, are we shut out from taking action to obtain social betterment? Are we to stand idly by in the face of the undoubted evils of our present system? Have Catholics nothing

to say, no solution of these problems to propose? Certainly they have. But we must remember that the Church can only act by its teachings, by its influence on the minds and consciences of men and Governments; and to both men and Governments it has addressed, even in recent years, words of weighty wisdom and advice on the need for social reform. It has set forth in the clearest and most authoritative way the Christian principles whose application is called for to alleviate suffering and to repress the modern lust for wealth. In a series of Encyclical Letters Pope Leo XIII has demanded from the world a return to the laws of justice and Christian brotherhood. He has denounced sweated labour, starvation wages, and the oppression of workers by capitalists. He has championed the cause of labour combinations, of a living wage, and of the regulation of the conditions of industry by the State.¹ He has laid down principles which would reduce to a minimum the preventable evils of human existence, if adopted and acted on by statesmen. But he does not promise a paradise on earth. The Christian's hope is an eternal one, and it is only the folly of materialism that can turn our eyes to anything less noble or less worthy of our effort.

¹ See *The Pope and the People*, a selection of the Encyclicals of Pope Leo XIII (C.T.S., 1s. and 2s.), and *Social Questions and the Duty of Catholics*, by C. S. Devas (C.T.S., 3d. and 6d.), for a valuable summary of Catholic teaching on these points.

SOCIALISM AND RELIGION

BY THE REV. JOHN ASHTON, S.J.

THAT was a memorable day, and one to live in history, on which Mr. Keir Hardie drove up to the House of Commons in a wagonette, and created no little amusement, as well as consternation, by stalking into the House with a Scotch cap upon his head. In 1907 he sits in the Commons surrounded by some thirty followers, the acknowledged head of the Labour Party. In the autumn of 1906, addressing a great demonstration held under the auspices of the Independent Labour Party at the Trades Congress in Liverpool, he declared, with legitimate pride, that though sixteen years before he had attended that same Congress, "one of a small band of fighters who had a reputation of being hare-brained dreamers . . . the sixteen years had worked a wonderful change, and that change was only at the beginning." "This speech," declared the *Labour Leader*, "is the most notable Mr. Keir Hardie has made since he accepted the leadership of the Labour Party in Parliament ; and its fearless spirit and magnificent Socialist proclamation will inspire the ranks of the whole Labour and Socialist movement." As a Socialist he has, in fact, burnt his boats behind him. "If we are asked," he says, "to lay down our arms as Socialists we can have but one reply, no matter who they may be who make the request, and that is—Socialism is more than a religion, it is the life-blood of our veins, and there can be no minimizing, no hiding, and no putting aside of our Socialistic work." He was speaking, however, as he took care to inform his

audience, as a member of the Independent Labour Party, and not as the chairman of the Parliamentary Labour Party. For among the Labour Party as well as among the Trades Unions there is by no means unanimity on the subject of Socialism ; and in fact the overwhelmingly adverse vote at the recent Labour Conference in Belfast against pledging the whole of the Labour Party, including the Labour Members of Parliament, to a definite Socialist programme leads us to ask the question whether he has not made the mistake of his career by thus identifying himself with the Socialist movement. As a Labour member, working for much-needed social reform, with an ever-increasing number of Labour members around him, he might not only have voiced the legitimate grievances of the people, but he might have successfully introduced measures and got them on the Statute-book, such as many, and certainly he, would call Socialistic. But will he have the same influence as a Socialist professedly aiming at collectivism and the nationalization of land and capital?

It would seem, then, as a writer in the *Monthly Review* has pointed out, that "the British middle classes have discovered Socialism since the last election." Certainly it is with us in a way and to a degree that it has never been before. Socialist organizations are increasing rapidly ; a vigorous propaganda is being carried on throughout the country on an extensive scale ; the social conditions of the day are being constantly subjected to criticism and their evils emphasized, while the one panacea which is to remedy them all is ever forced upon our attention. Of the existence of these evils there can be no doubt. The wealth of the world is in the hands of a comparatively small number of people, and yet, while the number of large capitalists is gradually becoming reduced, and the wealth of the country is constantly increasing, there is but small amelioration in the lot of

the working man. "Among its [utilitarian and therefore false system of economics] immediate effects, the most serious, doubtless, have been that capitalism, departing, even in Germany, from the spheres assigned to it by the dictates of wholesome morality, has often been so directed as to exercise a cruel sway, a power of absorption rather than of productivity, in such wise that wealth has appeared to be concentrated in the hands of a few, without human labour deriving, as it should, any shadow of advantage" (Count Soderini : *Socialism and Catholicism*). "It would be hard to show how the rewards of a railway wrecker, like Jay Gould, of a mere mining speculator, or of a mere Stock Exchange gambler can be said to have been due to social services," says an *Athenæum* reviewer of Professor Nicholson's *Political Economy*; while the same evils are referred to by Cardinal Gibbons in the following terms : "No friend of his race can contemplate without painful emotions those heartless monopolists exhibiting a grasping avarice which has dried up every sentiment of sympathy, and a sordid selfishness which is deaf to the cries of distress. Their sole aim is to realize large dividends without regard to the paramount claims of justice and Christian charity. These trusts and monopolies, like the car of Juggernaut, crush every obstacle that stands in their way. They compel their operatives to work for starving wages, especially in mining districts and factories, where protests have but a feeble echo, and are easily stifled by intimidation."

Moreover, just as the capital of the country is in the hands of a few, so also is the land held by a comparatively small number of owners. Out of 72,000,000 acres, 51,000,000 are divided among 10,000 proprietors, and out of this number 977 possess 10,000 acres and upwards. Thus 71 per cent. of the soil is the hands of 0.9 per cent. of the total number of proprietors; while

72 per cent. of the proprietors possess only 0·2 per cent. of the soil among them. All this is detestable and has been virtually reprobated by Leo XIII. "If working people," he says, "can be encouraged to look forward to obtaining a share in the land, the result will be that the gulf between vast wealth and deep poverty will be bridged and the two orders will be brought nearer together." They are, moreover, kept apart by the unequal incidence of taxation. "Should the Duke of Sutherland," asks Bishop Hedley, "whose ancestors, about seventy years ago, drove away 3,000 families and converted 800,000 acres into private property (now a treeless deer forest), be obliged to pay in proportion ten times as heavy a land tax as another who has a freehold of four acres and is a model peasant proprietor?"

Among other evils of our present social system are the hard and sometimes even cruel conditions under which our workers toil during long hours for a wage scarcely sufficient to keep them and their families. There is still with us the "sweating system," under which, according to a Board of Trade report, sub-contractors undertake to do work in their own houses or small workshops, and employ others to do it, making a profit for themselves by the difference between contract prices and the wages they pay their assistants. But the multiplication of minute labour-jobbers is the great evil of the system, and it is their premises that furnish examples of the typical sweater's den. In a room, nine or ten feet square, without ventilation, heated by a coke fire for the pressers' irons, and lit at night by flaming gas-jets, and in the atmosphere thus vitiated work eight, ten, or even a dozen individuals. And what do they earn? In very few cases does their remuneration reach threepence or even twopence an hour. Most frequently the rate for home industries runs from $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. to $1\frac{3}{4}$ d. an hour, and that, too, for the most constant and heavy toil in most of the trades. In

some instances it drops to $\frac{3}{4}$ d., and even in cases to as low as $\frac{1}{2}$ d. an hour, and the workers have to provide their own light and heat, and often their own materials, such as needles and thread. There are only too many poor women working to-day for wages of from four to six shillings a week during 16 or 17 hours a day, besides attending to their household duties.

Perhaps the greatest evil of all in the industrial world is the insufficiency of work. The problem of "the unemployed" will have to be dealt with many a year before the time arrives, predicted by Mr. Keir Hardie, when the country will be divided into Socialists and anti-Socialists. On this point it is worth while to recall some forcible words of Cardinal Manning: "I was publicly shown up, as being a very heterodox member of the Charity Organization Society. I have not changed my opinion. Indeed, I am still further convinced that the Poor Law of England is not adequately administered. I have read all that can be said on the other side, and I remain perfectly unconverted. I have heard a great many arguments on this subject. I have been told, 'Don't give alms; you will demoralize the poor.' 'Very well,' I say, 'let us give work.' 'No, don't give work, it will disturb the labour market. Wait until the normal action of society shall have devised adequate labour for the whole of these unemployed persons.' 'Very well,' I have said, 'give me an answer to two questions: "How many years will it be under the present conditions until the demand for labour is co-extensive with the supply? Will it take three years, or five, or ten? You shall fix the time."' Then I have to ask another question: 'Tell me how many months, how many weeks, it will take to starve an able-bodied and deserving workman and his wife and family?' I have never had a satisfactory answer to these two questions."

No wonder that the working man of to-day considers

that he has a grievance. He knows from bitter experience that his wages are scarcely enough to keep himself and his children, and that as trade is slack he may presently lose his work and be face to face with starvation unless he goes to the workhouse, to which he has a very natural repugnance. He knows that if he is brought up before the court for begging the magistrate will impose a fine which he cannot pay, and so he must go to prison ; while a rich man may commit a much graver crime with impunity, since the payment of a fine, which, practically speaking, costs him nothing, saves him from going to prison. "Are nine-tenths of the evildoers on earth," asks Sir William Butler, "not only to escape the penalty of their crimes, but often and often to be favoured reapers in the harvests of the world's success? You catch the common robber, or the man who steals—perhaps through starvation, penury, or through knowing no better—and you imprison him for years or for life ; and is the rich usurer who has wrung the widow's farthing from her, is the fraudulent banker, is the unjust judge, is the cruel spoiler of war to pass from a world that in millions and millions of cases gave them wealth and honours and stars and garters, instead of ropes and bars and gallows, to go forthwith to free pardon, to everlasting light and endless rest beyond the grave?" (*Life of General Gordon*).

The life of the working man in only too many cases is one perpetual round of toil and worry ; the problem ever before him is to make ends meet, while a few rungs of the social ladder above him are those who, like the lilies of the field, "toil not, neither do they spin." But now the views of Karl Marx and Henry George have filtered down to him. He is told that labour is the source of wealth, and to-day he is asking if he is not the labourer *par excellence*. "It is this bad wealth," proceeds the *Athenæum* reviewer above cited, "which has excited the just suspicion and hostility of

the poorer classes, and has bred theories of anarchism which endanger the peace of the world. . . . The wealth which has caused poverty and ruin to thousands is bitterly and rightly resented ; and the wisest statesmanship will be needed to deal justly with the power at present exercised by the wrecker and the gambler, while preserving the freedom without which the exceptional man will not be able to use his talent for the welfare of the community." "Working men," said the late Pope, "have been given over, isolated and defenceless, to the callousness of employers and the greed of unrestrained competition. The evil has been increased by rapacious usury, which, although more than once condemned by the Church, is nevertheless, under a different form but with the same guilt, still practised by avaricious and grasping men. And to this must be added the custom of working by contract and the concentration of so many branches of trade in the hands of a few individuals, so that a very small number of rich men have been able to lay upon the masses of the poor a yoke little better than slavery itself."

A panacea to remedy these unsatisfactory social conditions—to call very grave evils by a very mild name—is offered by the Socialist. What then is Socialism ?

Mr. Blatchford, in his *Britain for the British*, gives the following answer to the question : "The root idea of Socialism means two things—(1) that the land and all the machines, tools, and buildings used in making needful things, together with all the canals, rivers, roads, railways, ships, and trains used in moving and sharing (distributing) needful things, and all the shops, markets, scales, weights, and money used in selling or dividing needful things shall be the property of (belong to) the whole people (the nation); (2) that the land, tools, machines, trains, rivers, shops, scales, money, and all other things belonging to the people, shall be worked, managed, divided, and used by the whole

people in such a way as the greater number of the whole people shall deem best."

A few words of obvious criticism on this definition of Socialism, and then we will pass to the more fundamental objections which a Christian, and in particular a Catholic, must have to this system. And in the first place Socialism is not identical in meaning with the municipal ownership of tramways, telephone and telegraph systems, post-office, railways, and steamboat service, &c. It is clear that all this may be carried out in a community where no Socialism, properly so called, exists. It is true that such ownership is ordinarily understood to be part of the Socialist scheme, just as it might be part of a Communist scheme, but there is no reason why it should not equally well be part of our own. Nor is it easy to see how the nationalization of the land is necessarily a characteristically Socialistic measure such as could only come about in a Socialist commonwealth. The State already possesses the right, and not infrequently uses it, in virtue of its *altum dominium*, of forcing a landlord to sell his property, when, for instance, it is deemed to be for the public good to run a railway through it; and the question may not unreasonably be asked, if the State can so act in one case, cannot it do so in an indefinite number of others? There would thus be an end of that gross anomaly—Mr. John Morley once called it that "gross iniquity"—that landlords whose property is enhanced in value owing to expenditure to which they do not contribute, are allowed to pocket the enhancement of value. Without going as far as Mr. Morley in describing this as an iniquity—for the landlords are guilty of no act of injustice—we may allow that it is an anomaly.

Again, we may ask, How is labour to be distributed in this Socialist commonwealth? Are you going to allow each one to choose his own special form of labour at will? If so, it will go hard with the diligent in

the race with the idle. If each is not to be free, we are face to face with a system of intolerable slavery. Who is going to do the work of hewing coal, cleaning sewers, labouring in chemical factories? Where is the "equality of rights" and "equality in the conditions of life" if you appoint some individuals to these hard and trying occupations, and others to the easier and more enjoyable tasks? Perhaps some Socialists would allow that the more difficult and disagreeable occupations should be better paid, but then capitalism, the irreconcilable foe of Socialism, asserts itself. No! there must be no extra pay. There is the honour and glory of the thing, and there are the gold, silver, and bronze medals with which Mr. Bellamy would reward eminent services rendered to the State. But these guerdons notwithstanding, I venture to think that a modern general strike would be the mildest of measures compared with the exhibition of discontent that would follow the first attempt to impose these disagreeable tasks on men who have been taught that they are the equals of those who are apportioned the tit-bits of the professions. Bebel, the German Socialist, faces the difficulty, and suggests that all, women included, should take their turn at the different employments. Each one will begin at the bottom of the ladder and work his way up to the top. But I forget; there is to be no top of the ladder or bottom either—

The earl, the marquis, and the dook,
The groom, the butler, and the cook,
They all shall equal be.

But, seriously, how would specialism, the importance of which we see more and more every day, fare in a Socialist State? As all are to have a turn at the different occupations, a chemist or a physician, who has been engaged for a number of years on work of original research, must make room for some one else whose turn has arrived. Is this the way to frame

a theory of the ultimate constitution of matter, or to get rid of a cancer ?

But Socialists are fond of telling us that the hours spent upon the unpleasant and arduous pursuits will be shortened, for there will always be a supply of men to draw upon. In fact, it is the way in which we are to solve the problem of the unemployed. But they forget, or ignore the fact, that in so doing they are drawing off men from intellectual and higher pursuits, even supposing it is possible to discriminate between the relative value of a stoker and a physician, a scavenger and an artist. Moreover, what would these men do after their few short hours of labour are over ? You may say that they would take to artistic pursuits. But we know enough of human nature to predict that with all stimulus and inducement to work removed, the vast majority would simply loaf, and loafing would be no less deleterious in a Socialist State than it is in our own. Little work and plenty of enjoyment are the very antithesis of the conditions of progress and development. It is indeed strange that the men who are so fond of conjuring with the name of Charles Darwin do not see that their ideal system is built upon principles which are in contradiction to those of evolution. The struggle for existence means competition, and what is to become of the race if the struggle is given up ? But it is one thing to say that competition may be too successful through want of restriction or through being organized on wrong lines, and it is quite another to deny its value altogether.

A further and more serious objection to Socialism is that it denies all rights of private ownership. Its philosophy is that of Proudhon, Property is theft ; and so the system by which private ownership is possible must be destroyed. There must be no pegging out of claims upon the land. Like the late Henry George, the modern Socialist holds that while the spade of the husbandman is in the air the land has

no owner, but when once it has descended it belongs by right to the labourer. Hence, soundly declared Henry George, "private property in land is robbery, and rent exacted by landlords is theft." All the evils of our social system, he declares, spring from "a great primary wrong, the appropriation as the exclusive property of some man of the land on which and from which all must live." This being the case, he would not hesitate to apply the most drastic measures in order to expropriate the landlords. "I would bring about, instantly, if I could, such changes of laws all the world over as would confiscate private property in land without one penny of compensation to miscalled owners." It is because labour alone, according to this eloquent writer, can give a just title to ownership that the landowners are guilty of this robbery. "It is sometimes claimed that property in land is derived from appropriation. But those who say it do not really mean it. Appropriation can give no right. The man who raises a cupful of water from the river acquires a right to that cupful, and no one can snatch it from his hand. But this right is derived from labour and not from appropriation. How could he acquire a right to the river by merely appropriating it?" But surely Mr. George begs the question at issue by supposing that the man had the right to the water before ever he raised the cup to his lips. A man who has a diamond given him has as much right to it as another who labours to the extent of picking one up from the ground.

It would not be difficult to show that these are the views of many well-known Socialists in this country, both with regard to land in particular, and private property in general. "The social idea of justice," says Mr. Belfort Bax, a member of the Social Democratic Federation, "is crystallized in the notion of the absolute right of the community to the possession and control of all wealth not intended for direct individual use.

Hence the confiscation of such property is the first expression of Socialist justice. Justice being henceforth identified with confiscation, and injustice with the rights of private property, there remains only the question of the ways and means." If there are any who, though unwilling to repudiate the name of Socialist, find themselves unable to go as far as Mr. Bax in denying the rights of private property, such men do not belong to the vast body of Socialists either here or on the Continent. They would even be out of place among the Fabians, who are prepared to give something by way of compensation to the dispossessed landlords, though they maintain that "private property was unjust from the beginning."

It will be noticed that the Socialist State, according to Mr. Bax, only claims the right to confiscate "what is not intended for direct individual use." But what, asks a writer in the *Monthly Review*, of the suburban resident who uses a patch of ground granted to him by the State for growing vegetables, and who in a good season finds that he has a surplus stock of cabbages? Is he not to be allowed to sell the surplus stock? Or is the State going to be so tyrannous as to attempt to fix the quantity as well as the kind of production? If freedom consists in the liberty to determine for oneself the conditions of life, the submission to such a system would be nothing else than slavery. This is the chief indictment which the Rev. Dr. Barry makes against Socialism, that it tends to destroy all forms of freedom. "How am I to be free," he asks, "in a country where I possess neither house, nor land, nor money; where I must submit to the Government mould in the school, the field, the mine, the workshop, the playground, the camp, and even the Church?" Over this passage, Mr. R. B. Suthers, in the *Clarion*, waxes at one time sarcastic and at another time indignant. "The poor blind bishop!" (*sic*) he exclaims. "He is devoid of imagination." It is not

often, I take it, that the author of the *New Antigone* is accused of want of imagination. But after all, even the imagination has its limits. It might be that in one of its wildest flights we might picture the Socialist State in which there is no selfishness, where every one lives for the sake of every one else. But until there appears to be some chance of falling in with that Utopia, it may be advisable to put some curb upon the imagination. "There are a great many minds," says Father Joseph Rickaby, in his C.T.S. pamphlet on *Socialism*, "who are unable to withstand a brilliant picture set before the imagination. Their intellect is fascinated, their reason is dazzled; they take what is set before them without argument, and hold it in spite of argument; it is so airy, so romantic, it must be true. Socialism has made way under this advantage; it is a charming Utopia on paper." It is of the reason and not of the imagination that Socialism must be put to the test. Consequently it is to the judgement passed upon it by the ablest and hardest thinking men that we must look. I do not forget that Mr. Wells has recently declared himself in favour of Socialism; but perhaps that clever author has lived too much among the beings of other possible or impossible worlds in those charming romances which he has given us.

No remedy, then, for the social evils of the day can be feasible which does not respect the rights—or let us say the institution—of private property. If it were intrinsically wrong to possess private property, as Socialists would have us believe, a man would be doing wrong in making even a moderate provision for his family, since that cannot be without at least some accumulation of capital. Without private property, too, the first steps toward civilization could not have been taken. For how can there be progress where there is no inducement to progress? and how can there be development under a system which removes the stimulus to exertion?

It is this attempt on the part of Socialism to destroy the institution of private property in the means of production and distribution that makes it obnoxious to Catholics and, indeed, to Christians generally. For we cannot forget that the rights of private property are recognized by our Lord and the Apostles. We are not to covet our neighbour's field, his horse, or his oxen. Therefore the possession of these things cannot be unjust. We do not find our Lord declaiming against private property in the case of His friends, Martha and Joseph of Aramathæa ; while, later, St. Peter tells Ananias that he might have kept his land had he chosen. But there is very little in common between the teaching of our Lord and that of Socialists ; indeed, this teaching is generally repudiated by them in explicit terms, as I shall presently show.

And now we come to an objection to Socialism on which I would lay some stress. It is that this system is *de facto* irreligious, and in particular anti-Christian and anti-Catholic in its tendencies. It may be that the reasons are not forthcoming why it should be so, or it may be that they are of so complex a character that any attempt at analysis would prove unsatisfactory. But if everywhere we find Socialism advocated by those who are professedly our enemies, if constantly we find Catholicity attacked by Socialists, if all or nearly all the Catholic writers who have dealt with the subject—and those in many cases men of recognized ability and acknowledged authority—are opposed to Socialism, there can be little doubt as to what ought to be our attitude towards this Utopian scheme.

There is no need to attack Socialists' motives. In many cases they seem to be actuated by a real desire to redress the grievances of the working man. The pity of it is that they would go about their work in a way that the Church cannot countenance. For the Church yields to none in her love of, and desire to help, the poor working man. That the action of the

Church in the past has been such as to justify her claim to be regarded as the friend and benefactor of the poor is acknowledged even by Mr. Hyndman in his *Basis of Socialism in England*. After a strong denunciation of the unfairness of Protestant historians in dealing with the relations of the Church, the monasteries, and the clergy to the people in the Middle Ages, this well-known Social Democrat proceeds : "It is high time that the nonsense that has been foisted on to the public by men interested in suppressing the facts should be exposed. It is not true that the Church of our ancestors was the organized fraud which it suits fanatics to represent it ; it is not true that the monasteries, priories, and nunneries were mere receptacles for all uncleanness and lewdness ; it is not true that the great revenues of the celibate clergy and the celibate recluses were squandered, as a rule, in riotous living. . . . The conventual establishments and parish priests did far more than is commonly supposed in the direction of elementary education. But the higher education, the Universities ? Where would Oxford be to-day but for the splendid munificence of bishops, monks, and nuns ? Fourteen of her finest colleges were founded by these celibate ecclesiastics and recluses for the benefit, above all, of the children of the people." After appealing to Cobbett's *History of the Reformation* as his authority, and after denouncing the Protestant Church which has converted those educational establishments into "preserves for the upper and middle classes," he proceeds : "My purpose, however, is not to champion the Catholic Church against the attacks of ignorant historians, but to show briefly the useful functions it fulfilled in the social economy of the time." He then expatiates at length on the generosity of priests in disposing of tithes : "The abbots and priors were the best landlords in England, and so long as the Church held its lands and its power permanent pauperism was unknown. . . . The 'drones'

who slept away their lives in comfort and ease at the cost of other men's labours were no more ignorant and superstitious than a Church of England parson or a Wesleyan preacher, and were less dependent on the labour of their fellows than Baptist orators or Radical capitalists of to-day. . . . The work which they did, the improvements in road-making, their public action as almsgivers, teachers, doctors, nurses show what useful people many of these much-abused monks and nuns really were. . . . Universities, schools, roads, reception-houses, hospitals, poor-relief—all were maintained out of the Church funds. Even the retainers who were dismissed after the Wars of the Roses were in great part kept from actual starvation by these conventual establishments and the parish priests. Not a word was heard against them in high quarters ; barely a sputter of ridicule came up from the people against the Church until Henry VIII wanted to form an adulterous, if not an incestuous, marriage in the first place, and to get possession of this vast property in the second. . . . Rack-renting and usury were henceforth sanctified instead of being denounced, and the Protestant Reformation became a direct cause of the increasing misery of the mass of the people. . . . What was the fate of the poor, who, while the monasteries stood, could always get a meal ? Many of them could not get work, and these 'sturdy vagrants,' or 'valiant vagabonds,' as they were called, were flogged or had their ears cut off. In 1547 it was laid down that they should be branded with hot irons and handed over as slaves to the person who denounced them. . . . Under good Queen Bess unlicensed beggars over fourteen were to be flogged and branded on the left ear if no one would take them into service for two years. If they begged again, all over eighteen were to be executed unless some one was ready to employ them for two years. Caught a third time, death was the penalty without relief. Hollinshed states that 72,000

vagrants were despatched in the reign of Henry VIII alone. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth sturdy beggars were hanged in batches, strung together in long rows like flitches of bacon. Not a year passed but several hundred were hauled up to the gibbet." In the meantime the nobles were enclosing the land, of which in some cases their descendants retain possession to this day.

Notwithstanding this testimony to the beneficial action of the Church on behalf of the poor, it would be a mistake to suppose that this Socialist writer is blind to what he calls her "bad influence." And in this he is at one with the vast majority of Socialists. The reason for this prejudice is given by Mr. Blatchford, whose writings are, to say the least, not edifying to a Christian, though they are said to have considerable influence on the working men of the day. "I am working for Socialism when I attack a religion which is hindering Socialism," he says in God and My Neighbour; hence he declares, "I do not like the Catholic Church." "The Church was the enemy of popular freedom, the enemy of popular education: the friend of superstition and tyranny and the robber."

Here are a few more specimens of the religious or irreligious teaching which this writer is constantly putting before the working man, and which, presumably, if adopted, is to redeem the world: "I cannot believe in the existence of Jesus Christ," he tells us on page 9 of *God and My Neighbour*; and yet on the very next page he says, "I cannot believe that Jesus Christ was God, nor that He was the Son of God." The logic of this is as interesting as the profession of faith. It is enough to remark, "*Prius est esse quam esse tale.*" The question of Jesus Christ being God does not arise if He never existed at all.

The writer has sections entitled "The Immorality of Jeovah," "The Injustice of Jeovah," "The Cruelty

of Jeovah." Savage attacks are made upon the patriarchs, though afterwards he is content to allow that none of these men ever existed. "I regard them as myths." "Carlyle is more moral than Jeremiah ; Ruskin is superior to Isaiah ; Ingersoll the Atheist is a nobler moralist and a better man than Moses ; Plato and Marco (*sic*) Aurelius are wiser than Solomon. Sir Thomas More, Herbert Spencer, Thoreau, Matthew Arnold, and Emerson are worth more to us than all the prophets." To get rid of St. Paul's evidence for the Resurrection it satisfies him to say that no one can prove he ever lived. "We have ceased to believe in miracles. When we come upon a miracle in any historical document we feel not only that the miracle is untrue, but also that its presence reduces the value of the document in which it is contained." Yes, if feeling is to be the criterion of truth, Mr. Blatchford will find it easy to get rid of much more besides miracles.

In criticizing the movement in the direction of Socialism as conducted by the Independent Labour Party, Mr. Blatchford tells us that he cannot regard it as intellectual, nor as generous, nor as tolerant, nor as refined. "The movement strikes me as a world out of truth. That is because so many of the women and men in the movement have been satiated with the false and unjust philosophy of the Bible. They divide mankind into good and evil. They revile, denounce, satirize their fellow-creatures. They try to fit great human policies to obsolete and superficial texts from Scripture. They mistake 'blessed words' for reasons." But Mr. Blatchford has a "blessed word" himself, and that word is "Determinism." At this "nearly all Socialists look askance as an abstruse problem with which they have no concern." It is this Determinism which distinguishes the particular Socialism of Mr. Blatchford. This is "scientific" ; this is "ideal." "It is greater than Plato, greater than Christ." It is because of "the immense superiority of Determinist principles

over the Christian religion that the Determinist understands morality and the Christian does not." What precisely he means by morality it is not easy to say ; but one thing is clear, and that is, that sin does not enter into it. "There is no such thing as sin." In fact, according to this writer, Determinism means "that man could not and cannot sin." Why? Because free-will, like so much besides, is a myth. He even offers us, by way of proof, the statement that he has not the power to leave the *Clarion* and start an anti-Socialist paper. The whole of his treatment of the subject is so superficial that it must be described as mere trifling. The arguments against free-will might have been, and have been, presented with much greater force than he seems to be aware of, and yet a sufficiently satisfactory answer is forthcoming. It is, however, a pleasure to be able to quote one sentence from *God and My Neighbour* with which it is possible entirely to agree : "The greatest curse of humanity is ignorance. The only remedy is knowledge." With that we take leave of Mr. Blatchford.

In this materialistic and atheistic teaching Socialists are only following in the wake of the father of all modern Socialism — Karl Marx. It is on rank materialism that his system is founded, with no God and no Providence. "Beyond nature and man there is nothing ; and those higher beings created by our religious fancy are but the fantastic reflections of our own being." "Religion is an absurd popular sentiment, a fantastic degradation of human nature." The opinions of Bebel (the present leader of the Socialist party in Germany), differ but little from those of Karl Marx on the subject of religion. The conviction that "to die," he says, "is to end all here will impel everyone to lead a natural life." "Morality has nothing to do with religion. The contrary is asserted by simpletons and hypocrites." With such ugly utterances the speeches and pages of Socialist orators and writers

simply teem. "It is a noteworthy fact," says Count Soderini, "that there is scarcely a speech or demonstration made by Socialists in which they have abstained from making hostile utterances against God and against Christianity. Not only have Socialists affected never to appear imbued with any kind of religious ideas, but on the contrary they have done all in their power to manifest more than aversion, in fact absolute hatred, of every form of religion ; and Socialism and impiety for them go hand in hand." Count Soderini then proceeds to quote a declaration made at one of the Socialist Congresses : " We shall have the delight of assisting at the agony of the priests, prostrated in the gutters of the streets. They shall pine away of hunger, slowly, fearfully, before our eyes. This shall be our revenge, and for the relish of such a revenge, accompanied by a bottle of Bordeaux, we will willingly sell our place in heaven. What say we? Heaven? We want it not. What we do wish for is hell—hell with all the delights that precede it, and we leave heaven to the God of the Papist" (applause). Sentiments such as these may be found week after week in the pages of the *Asino* ; so that the Roman Correspondent of the *Tablet* is able to write that "all sections [of Socialists] are at one in their anti-clericalism."

But it may be argued that all this is true only of Continental Socialism, and that as Freemasonry, for instance, is of a much more virulent type on the Continent, so it may be with Socialism. What then is to be said of Socialism in England? And in particular, what is to be said of those large Socialist societies which carry on such an active propaganda throughout the country?

But let me first ask, Even if the form of Socialism advocated by those societies were of such an innocent character, how are we to justify their action in co-operating with Continentals, whose Socialism is professedly irreligious? English Socialists, by appear-

ing on the same platform with their brethren on the Continent, declare themselves anything but averse from giving countenance to Continental Socialism. Further, if Socialism is to be international, as in order to be workable it would have to be, under pain of losing to the country all the young, the enterprising, and the energetic, it is plain that solidarity is a necessary condition. How indeed Socialists of one country do stand together with those of another was shown recently by the action of the German Socialists who contributed £1,000 to their French "comrades," in order to keep the moribund and tottering *Humanité* alive. It would be small consolation to a loyal Catholic to discover, after the establishment of a Socialist régime, that he had been indirectly supporting the propagation of materialism and atheism, and to find himself drawn into the vortex.

Again, with regard to Socialism in this country, it must be affirmed that it advocates a form of education that is purely secular. And even if there were no other objection to it than this, we should have to respond with a distinct *non possumus*. Why, we have heard, not long ago, of 150,000 Catholic workmen ready even to give up their Trade Unionism rather than run any risk in the matter of the Catholic education of their children. Cowper-Templeism, on which most of the Socialists in the country have been brought up, is such a poor thing that we are not surprised to find them ready to barter it in favour of secular education. But neither the one nor the other will satisfy a Catholic.

Moreover, it is clearly evident that much of the teaching of Socialists in this country, and the aims and objects of the various Socialist bodies, are opposed to the doctrine of the Church and conflict with her interests. First, with regard to the Social Democratic Federation, it is enough to say that it stands pledged to the gospel of Karl Marx, and is therefore founded on a purely materialistic basis. It repudiates the rights of

private property, and would lay forcible hands on land and all forms of capital as having been fraudulently acquired, and therefore unjustly held. The foundation of morality, according to a Social Democrat, is therefore somewhat different from what it is according to a Christian. In fact, Karl Pearson explicitly tells us what it is : "The Socialist's theory of morality is based on agnosticism, and his aim is to make this life as pleasant as possible. Socialism starts from the thought that the sole aim of mankind is happiness in this life. The State is the centre of the Socialist faith. His polity is his morality, and his morality is his religion." Woman he divides into two classes—the childbearing, and the non-childbearing. Before the latter he sets the ideal of free-love. The former he relegates to the power of the State.

I have quoted the eulogy of the Catholic Church pronounced by Mr. Hyndman, for many years the leading spirit of the Social Democratic Federation. But in a speech that he made at the Holborn Town Hall he declared that it did not follow that, because such were his convictions, he shut his eyes to the bad influence of the Catholic Church. On that occasion he acknowledged that the Catholic Church is Christianity to every intent and purpose, and that Christianity is the Catholic Church, and that it is against the Catholic Church that the main fight of the future must be waged. When he was a lad Catholics were practically unknown. To-day they found them everywhere. They used to laugh at old Newdigate and the Society of Jesus, and say that he did not understand what he was talking about ; but during the last twenty-five years the Society of Jesus had become four or five times as powerful as it was before. Instead of five thousand votaries, they had now between forty and fifty thousand ! Let them remember what Jesuits were. They pledged themselves by oath to act according to the rule of their General, even unto death. They were

not like ordinary priests. They lived wholly and solely to get control over the human mind ; and in many Catholic countries, and in a number of English colonies, they had got hold of the education of the young. They said "Give us a child until he is ten years of age, and then you can do what you like with him." They absolutely controlled the Vatican. They were uncrupulous as to means ; and that was the force that controlled the Catholic Church.

Perhaps Mr. Hyndman in all this is not to be taken too seriously. Certainly he has not been at pains to verify his figures.

The Independent Labour Party, though not so revolutionary as to methods as the Social Democratic Federation, is at one with it as to principles. Though it is not explicitly pledged to Socialism, the majority of its leaders, like Mr. Keir Hardie, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, and Mr. Philip Snowden are working for this consummation. Its leaflets tell us that if we want information about it we should go to the *Clarion* or the *Labour Leader*. Of the anti-religious bias of the *Clarion* there can be no doubt. Perhaps it is enough to remark that Mr. Robert Blatchford is one of the chief writers on its staff ; and innumerable quotations might be given from the *Labour Leader* to prove that it differs but little from the other Socialist organ in this respect. As a specimen I take its views on Marriage and Divorce from a recent number. Marriage, according to this Socialist organ, is but a sham if it turns out unhappy. The real thing is to be found in such a union as that of Lewes and George Eliot. Marriage as sanctioned by the Church, with its indissoluble bond, is based on unreason and is a survival of mediævalism, whereas, we are told, it is a natural union based on mutual regard. Hence, if it should so happen that this mutual regard should come to an end, all that is required is a formal declaration and the marriage is dissolved. Establish a sound

system of economics, which is only to be found under a Socialist régime, and it follows that "the true conduct of marriage must be sought for in Socialism." There is no need to point out how diametrically opposed all this is to the teaching of the Church, which stands pledged to those marriage laws which she has received from our Lord Himself.

The third of the Socialist bodies in the country is the Fabian Society. Its members for the most part belong to the educated class, and though not so numerous as those of the I.L.P. or S.D.F., they have, perhaps, had more influence than either, through the part they have played in educating public opinion in Socialist ideas. It is their policy gradually to impress their views upon the people, and thus by degrees to arrive at the Socialist State. It was a Fabian who "*cunctando restituit rem*" (succeeded through his dilatory tactics). They profess themselves ready to make some compensation to the dispoiled landlords, not as though it were due to them as a right, but out of deference to popular prejudice. As to the principle of the rights of property, they are as radical as the Social Democrats. "Private property was unjust from the beginning." In fact, Mr. Bernard Shaw, in his preface to the *Fabian Essays*, tells us that all the writers of those essays are members of the S.D.F. They profess to have no distinctive opinions on the subject of religion, but they take care to remind us that "the social system based on religion and a common belief in the Divine order has broken down." They declare that they are equally undogmatic on the subject of marriage, yet they confidently assert that the state of morality in the Collectivist commonwealth "will be the highest yet known." How this is to come about Mr. Shaw hints, not obscurely: "One can see . . . that the economic independence of women, and the supplanting of the head of the household by the individual as the recognized unit of the State, will materially alter the status of

children and the utility of the institution of the family." A fuller account of Mr. Shaw's views on religion and of his attitude towards Christianity is given by a writer in the *Clarion*, who had attended a lecture delivered by Mr. Shaw, in the Essex Hall, to the Guild of St. Matthew. Presumably the members of the Guild are Christians, but a man must have been more of a Socialist than a Christian who could have listened with equanimity to that speech, only parts of which are published in the *Clarion*, no editor in the country, says the writer, having courage to print it *in extenso*. If already Christian Socialists are sitting at the feet of men like Mr. Shaw, listening to an exposition of his views on religion, how much Christian doctrine are their children and children's children going to retain? "The Bible must go," says Mr. Shaw. "Till you get rid of the Bible, religion in this country will be impossible." And are we to suppose that the lecturer knew his audience when he declared that they must give up pretending to believe that God is all-powerful? Moreover, a man would have deserved respect for his Christianity, though, perhaps, not for his Socialism, if on hearing Mr. Shaw use the words, "Let us talk about our old friend God," he had got up and walked out of the room. I dare not set down the blasphemies uttered against the God of the Old Testament, but at least we may ask with great regret if it has come to this, that those who profess to be Christians can go out of their way to get a man to come and tell them that he does "not think a public execution ought to be the central fact of a religion," and to ask "why do you people buy those horrible pictures of Christ, with the crown of thorns, and the blood, and the sweat : why do you do it? The admiration for these pictures is a relic of savagery."

It may be freely admitted that there are many eloquent passages in the *Fabian Essays* which evince a sincere desire to relieve the wants of the poor and to

redress the crying needs of the hour. The writers are honest in recognizing the truth of the contention put forward above, that the Catholic Church has proved herself the friend of labour and the working man. "Catholic Christianity . . . has done more for social morality than any other religion in the world," says Sydney Olivier, in the essay entitled "Moral." And again, "The Catholic Church developed, relatively to the enlightenment of its age, the widest and freest system of education the world has ever seen before this century"; while on the other hand, "Protestant Individualism . . . founded the modern land system upon its [the Church's] confiscated estates; destroyed the mediæval machinery of charity and education; and in religion rehabilitated the damnable danger of reason and good works." Would that, then, there were some signs of appreciation of those Christian and supernatural principles which enabled the Church to accomplish this work. These principles are openly set at naught; and as the Church, from her poverty and her position, cannot now accomplish such external work, she is set down by one of the writers above-cited as "decrepit"; just as a so-called Catholic Socialist has recently declared, "She has failed, so let her stand aside." Nay, even such work as she is able to do passes almost without recognition. Daily are her priests among the poor, relieving them out of very slender means, but doing what is of greater value—comforting the sick, healing dissensions, raising the fallen, getting the drunkard to forswear his evil habits. All this is as nothing to the Socialist. In his ideal commonwealth such evils will not exist, and so the Church will be wanted no more.

No wonder, then, that the Church looks askance at this modern Socialist movement. She sees that it denies the rights of private property, that it strikes at the roots of man's moral freedom, that it dechristianizes the working man, that it would confiscate her churches

and secularize her schools, that it would destroy the Christian family and substitute a materialistic philosophy for her doctrine of the supernatural. Have we not heard the cry of Gambetta and the French Free-thinkers hurled against us by the Socialist Will Thorne? It is true that the Church has her religious Orders, which are established on a socialist, or rather a communist basis, all things being held in common, no one possessing anything of his own, but all drawing upon the common stock—the very ideal of Socialism, we are sometimes told. But if this has been made possible, it has only been through the attempt to follow the example of the Apostles, who, “leaving all things, followed Him.” The guiding principle in religion is, Whatever is mine is thine; whereas with Socialists it is, Whatever is thine is mine. They take it for granted that man is endowed with all those qualities which it takes years of strenuous labour to acquire. As Lord Goshen, in his *Essays and Addresses*, has pointed out, “The Socialist ethical man is an hypothesis just as the older economic man was an hypothesis. I am afraid that the one hypothesis will find as little its counterpart in this world of ours as the other hypothesis; and if the economic man is a monster, the ethical man, as pictured by the Socialist, is an angel who will not walk on this terrestrial globe.” The same fact is alluded to by Father Cathrein, S.J.: “If men generally were unselfish, industrious, obedient, filled with interest for the commonwealth, always ready to give everybody else the preference, and to choose for themselves the last and most disagreeable place—in short, if men were no longer men as they are, but angels, a social order, according to the plan of the Socialists, would not be impossible.”

May we then be Catholic Socialists and join any of the various Socialist bodies in the country? Certainly by doing so we shall not become heretics, which means that we shall continue to remain in communion with

the other Catholics throughout the world. Also, I am free to admit that there have been good Catholics who called themselves Socialists, though they have been neither so numerous nor so distinctly socialistic as some writers, notably Professor Nitti, in his work on Catholic Socialism, would have it. The Count de Mun, an excellent Catholic as we all know, has not hesitated to say: "We are called Socialists because we recognize what is legitimate in the claims of the working classes"; and Cardinal Capacclatro, Archbishop of Capua, in referring to Manning, once declared: "In all civilized Europe and among Catholic Socialists (please allow me the use of the expression) I know of no one more daring than my dear friend Cardinal Manning. In action he is a most efficacious Socialist." Similarly Mons. Ketteler, who laboured so strenuously on behalf of social reform, has been set down as a Socialist. It is true that he speaks of "the ungodliness of capital that exhausts the labourer as though he were a mere productive force," and yet he was a thoroughgoing believer in the rights of private property as founded on the Natural Law. So, too, de Mun may denounce unrestricted competition, and declare that "the passion of speculation invades everything; a conflict without respite has taken the place of healthy emulation," and yet maintain that restriction and not abolition is what is wanted. Nor does it follow that because Manning would have the State provide work for the unemployed that therefore he would destroy all Individualism. Moreover there is reason to doubt whether such social reformers as Ketteler, Manning, and de Mun would go so far in the direction of Socialism now that, having allied itself with the cult of humanity, it is openly hostile to every form of supernatural religion. The aspirations and the attitude of a social reformer are correct enough, but nothing but harm can come from the adoption of the name "Socialist." Moreover, it may well be asked, Should we, in associating with those who profess open

hostility to the Church, thereby display our loyalty to her? It is scarcely characteristic of a loyal Catholic when a Pope issues an instruction on Socialism to contend that it is not a dogmatic utterance and therefore not infallible. In the following terms Pope Leo XIII, in his Encyclical on the Condition of Labour, speaks of "the untenableness of the principle of Socialism, according to which the State is to appropriate all private property, and convert it into common property. Such a theory can only turn out to the disadvantage of the labouring classes, for whose benefit it has been invented. It is opposed to the natural rights of every individual human being; it prevents the true purpose of the State, and renders the peaceful development of social life impossible." And now Pius X speaks of "Socialism, which breathing hatred of Christianity, advances with ruin in its train—blotting out the hopes of heaven from the hearts of the people—to destroy the fabric of society, already shaken." With the loyal Catholic—with one, that is, who is not satisfied with keeping barely within the limits of orthodoxy, and with repudiating only that which has been formally condemned by the authoritative voice of the Church—those words will have more weight than any amount of platform oratory, however impassioned.

It would be but small consolation for the so-called Catholic Socialist, after pursuing this will-o'-the-wisp, this Utopian scheme and purely imaginary panacea, to find in the end that he has been playing into the hands of Secularists and Materialists, that Christianity has been eviscerated of every supernatural element, and that the Church has been deprived of that moral freedom which is the breath of her nostrils—her very life. It surely is a significant fact that this most democratic of all our Parliaments has set itself, first of all, to the task of hampering us in the teaching of religion in our schools, while that of doing justice to those who have laboured so strenuously and made so many sacri-

fices in order to maintain religious instruction in our schools has been left to the House of Lords. That modicum of religion known as Cowper-Templeism, which the Labour members learnt in the Board Schools, has gone, and to-day secularism is sufficient for them.

What the would-be Catholic Socialist should do is to endeavour to read the signs of the times, to inquire into the nature of the tendency of the Socialist movement, and honestly to face the question of the future of religion under a Socialist régime. Now, I know that the answer may be given that Catholic Socialism has been instituted as an endeavour to introduce a Catholic element into Socialism in order to counteract that which is admittedly irreligious—to leaven the Socialistic lump, and to minimize the influence of the professedly agnostic and materialistic leaders. But surely the attempt is both dangerous and futile. It is dangerous because it is playing into the hands of the acknowledged enemies of religion ; even by adopting the name of Socialist you are abetting the Socialism of the leaders, such as Shaw, Hyndman, Quelch, Karl Pearson, Belfort Bax, Blatchford, &c. It is futile, because if ever Socialism wins the day, it will be the Socialism of such men as these, and not Catholic Socialism, that will be in the ascendant. You are altogether too weak, and there are those forces at work which must ever keep you a comparatively insignificant body ; and remember it is not the tail that wags the dog, but *vice versa*. These men will be grateful to you for your Socialism, but put them into power and they will cast your Catholicism to the winds.

History shows us that from time to time a movement may be set on foot which, though apparently innocent and even plausible in its beginnings, in course of time, perhaps even before long, is found to be making for evil. The democratic movements of the past may have been faultless in their inception. They have often come to grief through defect of those higher

influences which are as necessary to guide as to restrain. Let us suppose the democratic element of Wycliffe's teaching to have been justifiable—and to do so is not difficult, provided we regard only the *natural* equality of all the members of the human race, and neglect their *individual* differences and inequalities—it undoubtedly exerted a destructive influence on the religious unity of the country. There were two forces which helped to bring about the havoc of the Reformation—one that of the Intellectuals, to use a word now in vogue—the men of the New Learning who showed themselves so indefatigable in exposing religious abuses, either real or apparent; the other that of the democracy who were ready to follow leaders who had no more respect for the Church's discipline than for her teaching. The former have their counterpart in the Liberal Catholics, the latter in the Socialists of to-day. But I venture to think that many a Wat Tyler, Jack Straw, and Tom Miller would rather have had their hands cut off than take part in a movement that was to deal such a deadly blow at religion in the country; and there is much to lead us to believe that Erasmus would have been reluctant to pen many of his diatribes against the Church and her ministers could he have foreseen the huge rent that was so soon to be torn in the seamless robe of Christ. To-day we look across the Channel and see the country that has sowed the wind of Gallicanism, Jansenism, and Revolution reaping the whirlwind of atheism, materialism, and infidelity. And in our own country, with secular education in the air, the times are such as to call upon us to close up our ranks and not to impair our strength by dissension and disloyalty to authority. Poverty the Church can endure; she has suffered little or no harm from it beyond a certain measure of physical hardship. Persecution she can stand; she has thriven on it; indeed, she has come to regard it as the most favourable environment for her life and development, but what

she cannot submit to is any attempt to alienate from her the allegiance of her poor.

Whether we like it or not, we are going to have the poor always with us. It has ever been so ; and there is good authority for the statement that it will continue to be so to the end. But all is not lost because we are poor. If it is possible to detect a note of scorn in the accusation made by Celsus against the Christians of his day, that they were "weavers, shoemakers, fullers, illiterate clowns," surely it is possible to distinguish a ring of triumph in the description given by St. Jerome of his fellow-Christians : "They are gathered not from the Academy or the Lyceum, but from the low populace" ; and by Theodoret : "They are whitesmiths, servants, farm-labourers, woodmen, men of sordid trades, beggars." But assuredly all would be lost if we were not to be free in the practice of our religion, while it is equally certain that we should not be free under a Socialist régime.

To the Socialist who holds poverty in such abhorrence that he is willing to compromise the Church's freedom this may seem like the gospel of despair, but at all events it is the gospel of Jesus Christ ; and to-day, as ever, perhaps to-day more than ever, there is need of the lesson of Bethlehem, and the reminder that while the rich shall hardly enter into the kingdom of heaven, that kingdom belongs by right to those who are poor in spirit. There is nothing to be said against any attempt, however vigorous, to ameliorate the lot of the working man. Only let it be consonant with the teaching of the Church and that of the recognized exponents of her doctrine ; and after all, if the worst comes to the worst—and that worst is really the best—the poor working man can still go on living in a hovel that is hallowed and labouring in a workshop that is sanctified, and though life's prizes be not for him, he can still go on working "not for the food that perisheth, but for that which endureth for ever."

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SOCIALISM

By CHARLES S. DEVAS, M.A. ^F

LIKE all others who speak of Socialism and wish to be clear, I must say at once whom I mean by Socialists—not the Anarchists who oppose all government, not the Communists who would have all things held in common, not the Extremists or Dynamiters who would use violence to attain their ends, not any of these whom there is no necessity to confute, but the scientific or moderate Socialists who would proceed by way of the ballot-box, with law and order ; and would contrive that sooner or later all capital or means of production or sources of income should be transferred to the hand of the State, whether the central or the local Government.

Socialism and the Church.

Now the first question that may occur to you is whether after all, this moderate Socialism is an enemy, whether there is any need of fighting, whether at any rate in Great Britain we have any complaint against the Socialists. Are

¹ A paper read at the Catholic Conference at Blackburn, Sept. 27, 1905.

they less civil to us than is any other non-Catholic body? Why pick a quarrel?

But Great Britain is not the whole world, and looking outside, wherever the Catholic Church is a strong force and simultaneously the Socialists are a strong force, we see the two in violent antagonism. You have only to cross to Belgium to see them forming two political parties in daily hostility. At least half the blame of the cruel persecution of the Church in France falls on the shoulders of the Socialists. In Germany a strong Government left off persecuting the Church because in her they recognized the only force that could withstand Socialism successfully. In Italy a Government once bitterly anti-clerical is becoming eager for an alliance with the Church as a shield against the Socialists. The same antagonism is seen across the Atlantic. The two rapidly growing and spreading bodies in the United States are the Socialists, who already make up nearly half the voters, and over against them the Catholic Church. Within the last fourteen months two books have been published in the United States on the Catholic side, showing the true facts of the momentous case; the earliest by Father Gettelmann, S.J., being an enlarged and adapted translation of Father Cathrein's work on Socialism in its eighth edition; the later book is by the Right Rev. William Stang, Bishop of Fall River, entitled *Socialism and Christianity*; and in neither book is there any question of conciliation. "Little can be done," writes a Socialist American magazine, "until men and women face the two curses of our country and our time, the curses of capitalism and Christianity." "The real Socialists," writes Bishop Stang, "have done with God and His eternal laws.

. . . Real Socialism means rebellion against God and Society." And the Bishop writes from the long personal experience of his pastoral work. "Is there nothing in your way?" he asked a Socialist leader not long ago. "Yes, sir," the man answered slowly, "there is one thing in our way, and that one obstacle is the Catholic Church."

Three Main Pillars of Socialism.

And yet it seems a pity to be compelled to take up arms against a scheme and a school that gives us so fair a promise. Indeed, what could appear on the surface more reasonable than orderly Collectivism? Three principal arguments strike me as the pillars and props of the Socialist position. The first is the argument that it is just and fair for all men to start alike ; and that if a man is to be poor and fill a low station, it is to be his own fault and own doing, and not due to the mere accident that he was born of poor parents, while another is in high station from no personal merit, but from the mere accident that he was born of rich parents. This may be called *the argument from justice.*

The second argument is from the immense saving to be worked by Collectivism with its joint and orderly system of production, and the avoidance of the incalculable waste of the competitive system, / such as the vast sums spent on advertising or on the work of commercial travellers, a large body of the most intelligent men in the country using up their brains and their time chiefly to induce purchasers to buy from one commercial house rather than from another. Then there is the waste of things made that no one wants, the waste of the spoilt or unsold goods, the waste of a

dozen men doing what a couple could do if they only acted, in delivering goods, for example, in combination instead of competition, as letter delivery compared with milk delivery. Now all this waste is ended by Collectivism, which forms the logical conclusion to the great process you see around of producers, production and sale, even retail shops on the largest possible scale. What a vast fund will be in hand from all labour being usefully employed instead of some 25 per cent. being simply thrown away! This may be called *the argument from economy.*

The third argument is drawn from the evils that in most industrial countries are the lot of so many : ill-fed, ill-clad, ill-housed, over-worked, under-paid, unemployed, exposed from youth upwards to evil surroundings, moral and physical. A way out of these evils must be found. "We have found the way and the only way," is the glad tidings or gospel of Socialism. "Present conditions are intolerable : your deliverance a necessity : Collectivism the one answer to your most urgent need."

This argument may be called *the argument from necessity* ; and backed up by its comrades, the arguments from justice and from economy, the three appear to offer a formidable front to all opponents ; for like ethical considerations, monetary considerations, and humane considerations appear to drive us to the Socialistic conclusion. But then appearance is not always the same as reality.

Collectivism and Equality.

Take the first argument : why should men start all on an equality? Tell a Brahmin he should start equal with a Pariah and he will laugh in your face. Ah ! but the

Hindus are sadly behind the age. Perhaps ; but then ask the modern Germans who are certainly in the front, and many of their philosophers will tell you that the business or function of the great mass of the people—German, British, or any other—is to minister to the welfare, physical and intellectual, of an *élite*, of a small number of superior beings. Or ask our own men of science, and they will declare that mere nature knows nothing of this equality, that everywhere is inequality, struggle, survival of the individual best adapted for the cosmic process. And quite apart from any question of wealth, any one can see the utter inequality of individuals at the very start, inequalities of health and physical capacities, of moral and intellectual qualities, of their temper, their wits and their memory ; so that merely to equalize money fortunes would be a very imperfect attempt at giving all an equal start. Every unearned advantage in the race of life would have to be neutralized, every undeserved defect compensated ; and so great would be the complication that it would require more than human power and impartiality to adjust the points of this universal handicap.

But, after all, does not Christianity preach equality ? Undoubtedly ; but not the Collectivist equality. One God indeed for all, one redemption, the same law, the same sacraments, the same conditions of salvation, the same human nature alike in the sad weakness from original sin and in the glorious possibilities from the action of grace. Hence master and slave, philosopher and road-mender, Roman and barbarian, white man and coloured, were all brothers in Christ, all knelt at the same altars. The essential dignity and rights of man and of woman were

affirmed to good purpose by Christianity eighteen centuries before they were affirmed to little purpose by the French Revolution. But Christianity preached no levelling of ranks, no abolition of inequality of conditions; rather it taught that all inequality of rights and authority is from God, that all should be tempered by duty, that all obedience should have responsibility as its correlative or counterpart, that we should acquiesce in the diversity of all manner of gifts as providential, and no more rebel against a man being endowed from his very youth with superior power or superior wealth than against his being endowed with a delicate ear for music, or with keen eyesight, or with a beautiful voice, or with muscular strength and agility, or with powers of physical endurance, all superior to our own.

And notice as a particular point how Christianity, by the great emphasis it lays on family life, thereby emphasizes inequality; for the family is the main ground of inequality. To support wife and children and provide for them after death is the main ground of industry and frugality. Hereditary capacities alike and hereditary weakness are handed on from parent to child no less than hereditary property. Hence, although Collectivism may profess to do no injury to family life, it is in essential contradiction to it by removing its main ground, the devoted union of man and woman for the welfare and advancement of their children.

Let me add one more remark on this argument from justice. Not merely is equality impossible, but I doubt whether it is wanted. Do the Collectivists understand that for the inhabitants of British India, namely, three-quarters of the population of the whole British Empire, the average

yearly income per head is £2 according to an official and optimistic account, while other estimates bring it to less than £1 10s. a year, or a penny a day. This being so, if there are any Socialists in this prosperous city of Blackburn, are they prepared to throw in their lot with their fellow-subjects of India, and share and share alike, and equalize the scantiness of the one income with the relative abundance of the other? Or will the Socialists of America treat the ten million negroes in the States each as a man and a brother, and become the fellow-workmen of a common Collectivism? Or will the Australians welcome the Chinese to be as one with them on their almost vacant continent?

So much for the first great support of Collectivism, the argument from justice. The second argument from economy equally fails on examination. I well recognize indeed the waste under our present system, and believe half of it might be avoided. I fully approve of collective ownership and collective working within limits, in reason, up to a certain point, the exact point being a question of circumstances. The post, the telegraphs, the supply of water, gas and electricity, and tramways, seem to me in most places to be best in public, not private hands; add for India and Ireland the railways, waterways, and forests. In each case the limits of this Collectivism can be discussed; but in all cases its character is totally different from the omnivorous Collectivism that would swallow up every kind of capital, and leave the private man nothing at all. And observe particularly that Collectivism in moderation is not the smallest step towards the Collectivism of the Socialists. You might as well say that to use butter as part of our diet is a step towards eating nothing else.

Collective ownership as an ingredient of social diet is wholesome, but as the exclusive diet is fatal.

Obstacles to Collectivism.

Now briefly, for you can find the details in the excellent joint book of Fathers Cathrein and Gettelmann, there are five fatal difficulties in the way of this universal, all-absorbing Collectivism.

First is the difficulty of organization. Either all the productive property of Great Britain would be worked from one centre as one business, keeping work and wages uniform; and this plan would break down instantly by the pure overweight of clerk-work; or else local autonomy would be granted to parish, urban district, county or municipality; and then, though the work might possibly be within manageable proportions, there would be other difficulties. For gradually, according to local varieties of opportunity, talent and luck, inequalities of wealth would develop among the different localities, Blackburn, perhaps, be earning 25 per cent. more than Preston; and back comes the inequality that was supposed to have been banished. Nor can this be remedied by allowing labour to flow to where it was best paid. For to work the Collectivist plan at all, there must be some fixity in the numbers of the hands to work and the mouths to feed. To provide employment or to cater for ever-fluctuating numbers would be impossible. The present liberty of moving about would in consequence have to be restricted. Even to migrate no further than from Manchester to Liverpool would require a special permit, and we should

find ourselves chained to the soil or to the municipal workshop. This I call something like serfdom.

Secondly comes the difficulty of supply. Instead of a body of traders to cater for the public taste you would have as your providers a body of officials eager to get through their work and not be bothered by individual peculiarities. There must be barrack-room uniformity if the Collectivist scheme is to work, no genuine liberty of consumption, not for the men only, but even for their mothers and sisters, their wives and daughters. This I call something like despotism.

Thirdly comes the difficulty of employment. Who is to do what? It would in practice be impossible to allow freedom to choose or to change an employment. We should have to take what was given to us and stick to it. This I call something like slavery. Or if the attempt was made to be fair by causing all men to take turns at working in different trades, then the waste of human power by thus undoing the division of labour and the increase of annoyance and discomfort would far exceed all the losses and waste of the present competitive system.

Fourthly comes the difficulty of wages. Either all must receive alike, skilled and unskilled, physician and farm labourer, all ranks of workers in the iron, the cotton, or the building trades, to the utter discouragement of skill and intelligence; or else there must be discrimination, some receiving more, others less, with no standard to go by. A municipality now can pay according to current local wages or trade union rates; but under Collectivism there would neither be trade unions or any outside wages with which to make a comparison. And thus we should have

to do the very thing we should wish to avoid, and entrust our good fortune to the arbitrary decision of Government officials. This I call wages at Bumble's discretion.

Lastly comes the difficulty of motives, and a blow struck at industry, care and frugality. True that Socialists often argue from the natural goodness of man and his proneness to virtue from his youth up. But this appears a contradiction. If man is naturally so good and yet the world so full of injustice and oppression as the Socialists maintain, then the fact that they have allowed the world to drift into so bad a condition proves that mankind, however honest and well-meaning, is thoroughly incompetent, and quite unfit to be trusted with collective management. Let us then confine the argument to real historical man, who appears an idle, careless, and self-indulgent personage unless properly trained and given an adequate motive for action. Take away the stimulus of hope and fear, especially when ennobled and fortified by regard for others, for infirm parents, for invalid brethren, for wife and young children, to avert from them suffering and poverty, to procure for them comfort, health, education and ease—let their future be secure, no longer in any way in our hands, and what shall save those hands from being smitten with a paralyzing slackness?

So, then, these five difficulties in the way of Socialism—the difficulty of organizing business, of supplying wants, of assigning employment, of adjudicating reward, and of furnishing a motive for industry and frugality—these five fatal difficulties pull down the second prop of Socialism, the argument from economy. There would no doubt be some saving in the waste of competition; but the losses

would outbalance the saving more than a hundredfold
This I call being penny wise and pound foolish.

Social Reform not Socialism the Necessity.

But there still remains the third prop of Socialism, the argument from necessity, that at all costs we must be freed from the evils of the present time, that anything is better than to leave things as they are. And most truly the evils are terrible and pressing: the miserable dwellings of so large a number of our people in town and country, the cruel advantage taken of weak, unorganized labour, the uncertainty of employment, the frequent triumph of dishonesty, the poverty-stricken old age that for so many is the dreary prospect ahead. But who recognized these evils more clearly than Pope Leo XIII? Who told us more clearly than he that we are not to leave these things as they are? What a fallacy then for the Socialists to say, Society is sick, and therefore the only remedy is Collectivism, as though there was no other alternative. But another alternative there is that involves no injury to the Church, no injury to the State, no injury to family life, another alternative that, unlike Collectivism, is free from the five fatal obstacles I have shown in the way of Collectivism ; and this other alternative is Christian Social Reform.

An Alternative.

I have already mentioned Bishop Stang's volume on Socialism and Christianity, and will gladly follow his example of not meeting the new social gospel with mere negation, but with a positive programme of reform. I ask, therefore, and with the more confidence because I have

an episcopal flag flying at my mast-head, whether in Great Britain we cannot unite our forces and follow social reform along the four lines of protected labour, of organized labour, of insured labour, and lastly of diffused ownership. This is not indeed all, but all that we need now consider.

Labour Reforms.

As to *protected labour* or factory legislation, we have only to go on with what has been so well begun, and extend, improve, complete and copy any salutary examples from abroad. Thus the laws might be imitated that demand guarantees for the moral character of foremen, separation of the sexes, consent of parents or guardians before those under age may be employed. Then the actual law might be better enforced, and evasions stopped like those in the dressmaking trade, brought to public knowledge in Mrs. Lyttelton's play. And legal protection should be extended to the helpless crowd of workers, mostly young women, in the match factories, jam-making, and cheap clothing trade.

Secondly, along the line of *organized labour*, let us aim at the spread, the elevation, and the legal incorporation of trade unions, so that as far as possible in all industries all bargaining about work and wages may be collective bargaining, masters and men both organized, all disputes that conciliation cannot avert being conducted before a reasonable tribunal of arbitration; and an end made of the present scandalous uncertainty of the law regarding trade unions.

And here let me interpose a word suggested by what has already passed at this Conference. His Grace the Arch

bishop of Westminster alluded to a rumour that labour organizations were being abused to force their members to support non-religious education. If there is any truth—I hope there is not—in such a rumour, far from setting Catholics against trade unions, it should stimulate them to take such a friendly and sympathetic attitude towards them in the legitimate industrial sphere, as to be able to protest with good effect if they go beyond that sphere. And here precisely is a case to which the words of Father Gerard apply, delivered in this hall last night, on the responsibility of Catholic men ; a case where the resolute protest of all Catholic trade-unionists against the organization of labour being thus turned from its proper purpose would have, on all concerned, the most beneficial effect.

Thirdly, along the line of *insured labour* we have an instalment in the Workman's Compensation Act of 1897. But this only touches accidents and not the other great branches of workmen's insurance, against sickness, against infirmity, and against unemployment. Our trade unions and our friendly societies, for a select portion of our people, serve as insurance against sickness and infirmity ; but I confess to a feeling of envy at the magnificent system of triple insurance that is the boast of Germany. But neither in Germany nor elsewhere is the final branch of insurance, viz., that against unemployment, yet established, though attempts have been made, the most conspicuous and practical for us being the great work of our English trade unions, who have spent on unemployed benefit in the twelve years ending 1903 considerably over four million pounds. And I agree with the suggestion in Mr. Percy Alden's recent admirable work (*The Unemployed*, pp. 64, 65)

that a Government contribution should be given in proportion to the sums thus voluntarily subscribed.

Diffused Ownership.

Lastly, we come to the fourth line of true social reform, namely, diffused ownership, on which Leo XIII laid such stress: that the majority of the people should not live merely from hand to mouth, but should have, each family its small capital, some partnership, shares, or stocks, but principally a small plot of mother earth, from the size of a garden to the size of a small farm, that no creditor could touch, that belonged to the family rather than the individual, that would be greatly eased of local and Imperial taxation and of legal charges (it is done in Belgium), that would serve as insurance against unemployment, that would solve (and alone solve) the problem of the exodus from country villages, and would allay the complaint of physical degeneration. And if I envy the Germans their insurance laws, I envy still more their millions of peasant proprietors, who, far from dwindling away, as the Socialists and some economists had prophesied, not only weathered the storm of low prices and agricultural depression, but have increased in recent years both absolutely and in the proportion of the cultivated land which they hold. True, in this country we have special difficulties in the way of the endowment, or rather the re-endowment, of half our population with property; but with the will there is the way: the extension of allotments, the movement towards rural factories and garden cities, are movements in the right direction; and we are gradually shaking off the baleful superstition that the money lender, the company

promoter, the credit draper, the army contractor, the drink seller, the slum owner, and others, have a sacred right to make what contracts they please, to pocket **what** profit they can, and devour the hard-earned savings of genuine labour.

But I have said enough for our purpose, that social reform along the lines of protected labour, organized labour, insured labour, and diffused ownership, sweeps away the only remaining defence and last prop of Socialism, its alleged necessity.

A Final Warning.

Yet one word of caution in conclusion. I have spoken with great approval of many social reforms. But there is a corrosive poison that eats away the value of them all. This poison is irreligion, whether instilled by godless schools, or godless homes, or godless professors. Thus the very Germany that among the great countries of the world leads the vanguard of social reform, is herself afflicted with the gravest social discontent; and America with all her wonderful resources is beginning at last to recognize, let us hope before it is too late, that for modern nations even temporal welfare is bound up inseparably with Christian schools and Christian homes.

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PLAIN WORDS ON SOCIALISM

BY C. S. DEVAS, M.A.¹

Meanings of the Word Socialism.

THE word Socialism in these days sends a thrill through an audience, exciting in them feelings, according to their antecedents, either of hope or abhorrence ; there being few to whom Socialism does not sound either as a message of good things to come, deliverance from the evil things of the present—from oppression, humiliation, anxiety, penury—or else as the sinister message of revolution, the destruction of all we value most, the destruction of order, property, peace, country, home, and religion.

This being so, it is obvious that I must make clear what is meant by the Socialism about which I am speaking, so that I may not be praising or blaming one thing, and my readers praising or blaming another.

Thus, I will say at once that the Socialism I am here discussing does not mean that all goods are to be held in common, no distinction of families recognized, and no private property ; that the rich are to be deprived at once of all their possessions, that all men are to be equalized, and no hierarchy of rank and employment

¹ A Lecture delivered in the Oddfellows' Hall, Edinburgh, on February 20 1906.

allowed any longer—such a picture of Socialism would be a caricature. Or again, that an orderly State is to disappear and be replaced by independent groups of producers—such a condition would be Anarchism not Socialism. Or again, that landed property alone should be nationalized, not other forms of productive capital—such a plan would be an understatement of the Socialist position, no less inaccurate than the previous overstatements. Nor, again, will I make use of wide descriptions that would include Socialism truly enough, but would include a good deal besides, such a description, *e.g.*, as “the political economy of the suffering classes,” or “doctrines that claim a greater equality of social conditions to be obtained by the State or legislation” or “the movement towards the co-operative organization of society.” Any social reformer might thus describe his schemes though they had little or nothing in common with genuine Socialism.¹

Need of Clear Speaking in the Present Political Situation.

And it is all the more necessary to say this in view of the recent political events in Great Britain. For two classes of people are desirous of confusing the real issue, confusing the real character of Socialism, making all outlines indistinct, so as to draw to their side, under false pretences, a great body of people who would never dream of following them unless they were half-blinded in the cloud of dust raised for their mystification.

The two extreme parties on either side are eager for

¹ See Section I. of the treatise on *Socialism*, by Victor Cathrein, S.J., translated from the 8th German edition, with additions on America, by V. F. Gettelmann, S.J., New York, 1904.

different reasons to identify the Labour Party with the Socialists. On the one hand, the extreme Individualists, those who are opposed to social reform, who detest workmen's combinations, and who refuse to recognize the indissoluble connection between riches and responsibility, between authority and accountability, desire to depict all serious social reform as mere steps on the road to Socialism. So a leading London paper in the first excitement of the elections quoted long passages from the *Clarion*, and from Mr. Robert Blatchford, its editor, in order to identify labour with Socialism, and to discredit, not the Socialists who were already sufficiently disliked by its readers, but the cause of social reform that wished to secure private property by limiting the abuses of it. So another London paper, writing for the same public, summed up the result of the elections as the "Victory of the Socialists," and declared that "the new Labour Party is essentially Socialistic in aim and character." And so also, though with a different ultimate end, the *Labour Leader* (December 15, 1905) made a similar identification, denounced John Burns as a backslider, included artfully in its Socialist programme many items that belong equally to the programmes of non-Socialists, and by a curious inconsistency while denouncing monopolies, claimed for Socialism the monopoly in this denunciation. And the *Clarion* published an article with the title, "The Socialist Triumph," using almost the very same words as its extreme opponent.

Distinction of Socialism from Social Reform.

Now nothing could be further from my purpose than to engage in a political discussion between Liberal and Conservative, to accuse one side of seeking the confisca-

tion of property, or the other side of refusing its rectification, or to put in a claim that the one side or the other is the true friend of property.

But my purpose is to make as clear as possible the audacious fallacy that identifies Socialism with social reform. Let us then go to the root of the matter, and fasten our attention on what is the distinguishing mark, the characteristic feature of Socialism, the vital point on which Karl Marx and the various schools of his successors agree (though differing in minor points), the Socialism of Bebel in Germany, of Jaurés in France, of Vandervelde in Belgium, and of Ferri in Italy ; the Socialism that is common in Great Britain alike to the Clarion Fellowship Clubs, to the Socialist Party of Great Britain, with the *Socialist Standard* their organ ; common to the newspaper, the *Labour Leader*, and to the Social Democratic Federation ; common in the United States to the older Socialist Labour Party and the new Socialist Party.¹

All these organizations are so far united that they possess in common the doctrine and the aim that the production and distribution of goods shall be organized by the whole society collectively, and as a necessary preliminary to this, that all the means of production, distribution, and exchange shall pass from private ownership to ownership that is public or collective. Hence the term Collectivism is sometimes applied to this sense of Socialism ; and in the present lecture I shall use the terms Socialism and Collectivism as meaning the same thing. Thus, in contrast to what is sometimes called old-fashioned, pre-scientific, sentimental, or Utopian Socialism, the newer Collectivism is proclaimed as modern scientific Socialism ; and the position attributed

¹ See the section in Cathrein-Gettelmann on "The Present State of Socialism."

to Charles Darwin in regard to biology, namely, that his teaching is to receive certain modifications in detail, but must be accepted in principle, is just like the position attributed to Karl Marx in economies, that a fundamental reconstruction of society is required, and that the State is to be the universal employer.¹ A man is not a genuine Socialist unless he agrees to what the Socialist Party of Great Britain officially express as their object: "The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by, and in the interests of, the whole community."² To this I think the brilliant and cautious advocate of Socialism, Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., can raise no objection as expressing his aim "to create the organic order of the Socialist State out of the atomic chaos of the present day." And he declares that "monopoly in land and the use of industrial capital for individual profits . . . must . . . be supplanted by public ownership and production for use, before labour can enter into enjoyment of the blessings which an efficient method of wealth-production makes possible."³

Confusion of the Two by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, then, is a genuine Socialist, editor of *The Socialist Library* in which have appeared or are promised the four great Socialist writers of four different countries, Ferri, Jaurés, Vandervelde, and

¹ See Enrico Ferri, *Socialism and Positive Science*, pp. 11, 12 (*The Socialist Library*, vol. i.).

² *Socialist Standard*, November, 1905.

³ *Socialism and Society*, p. 129

Bernstein. But in the efforts to support Socialism Mr. MacDonald falls into one of the three great Socialistic fallacies, namely, sophistry or dust-throwing, playing with words, in particular, using the word Socialism in two totally different senses, one the sense of Collectivism, already explained to you, and the only sense in which I use Socialism here, the other the sense of any legal measures to promote the material welfare of the more numerous classes. In this second sense the reforms urged by Lord Shaftesbury, the great promoter of the factory laws, in the earlier part of the nineteenth century, and by Leo XIII in the latter part, would be called Socialistic, and Lord Shaftesbury and Leo XIII would both of them be called Socialists. Better use no words at all than use them so misleadingly. Thus, it is misleading when Mr. MacDonald tells us at the present moment "all that the Socialist need do is to lay down and defend as a general principle that reward for work should be certain and sufficient, and that full opportunity should be given to each adult to work at some remunerative employment."¹ For this general principle is one on which social reformers are agreed, and are striving in many countries to carry into practice, social reformers who are wholly averse to Collectivism. Again, he rightly points out how in many towns in certain trades, *e.g.*, the boot and shoe and hosiery trade, a movement is "going on which will end in the transformation of women and girls into the breadwinners of the family, and of men and boys into casual labourers or habitual loafers."² But then, by an audacious misrepresentation, he tells us that all well-meaning people, always excepting the Socialists, declare this great evil to be inevitable. But such helpless and hapless acqui-

¹ *Socialism and Society*, pp. 182-3.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 183-4.

escence in evil is just what no social reformer worthy of the name would endure, and a vast body of men every whit as alive as the Socialists to the evils of our society, every whit as eager to remedy them, are seeking some practical remedy, not an impractical Utopia. Then in the same misleading fashion, again and again, the case is presented as if no one else besides the Socialists took any heed of industrial evils, and as if there was no choice between Socialism on the one side and unchristian Individualism on the other, the brutal application of "business principles" during six days of the week with cant on the seventh day, no choice except reckless competition, the unregulated clash of individual interest on the one side and Socialism on the other. Naturally, any humane man, if this was the alternative, and if there was no other choice, would choose Socialism rather than such a brutal struggle for existence.

The True Middle Way between Socialism and Individualism.

Such an alternative might have seemed plausible in mid-nineteenth century at the time of the Chartists, but is not plausible now, since for more than fifty years "business principles" of self-regarding individuals have been checked, pruned, amended by the two great forces of combination and legislation ; a whole code of elaborate factory laws has grown up, backed by sanitary laws, merchant-shipping laws, and workmen's compensation laws ; and a network of trade unions and friendly societies of all sorts (one of the newest and most practical being the Tenant Owner Societies under the guidance of the Co-operative Housing Council) has simultaneously grown up, and has reached such an

extent that, for example, the British Co-operative Societies comprise, if we include wives and children, some eight million souls, not to speak of the vast accumulated funds and the annual trade of some ninety million pounds. The true line of social reform is to extend and improve the good we have in our hands, such as this vast fabric of co-operation, to improve the factory laws, to give a great extension and amendment to workmen's insurance, to recognize legally Trade Unions with their two million adherents, to build up body after body, organization after organization within the State, bind them in mutual relations, spread on all sides the principles of conciliation and arbitration ; in short, to use what we have tried and found effective, and not to trust to the untried Utopia of Collectivism. Put in force the teaching of the late Pope's Labour Encyclical, that the State is bound to prevent usury, monopoly, overwork, underpay, that workmen's associations in a variety of forms are not merely to be permitted, but zealously promoted, that as far as possible small owners of property, especially peasant proprietors, are to be multiplied, that all the organs of conciliation are to be strengthened, and all classes and conditions of men to join in the work of social reform, not one only, but *all* ; work and prayer, the organized State and the organized Church, the private employer and the private philanthropist, associations of employers and associations of employed working in co-operation—put all this in force, adopt this gospel of peace, and we shall not need the gospel of social war.

A Catholic Bishop's Programme.

And to render more effective what I have said on there being a fruitful and practical alternative to

Socialism, let me give you a few extracts from a book entitled *Socialism and Christianity*, published last year in America by one of much experience and knowledge of his subject, Dr. Stang, the Catholic Bishop of Fall River, Massachusetts. I quote from the chapter that bears the excellent title, "Not Socialism, but Social Reform": "The State should not only protect private ownership as something sacred and inviolable, but its policy should be to induce as many people as possible to become owners. . . . The working man should be encouraged to acquire land and put up his own home on it. A man will take more interest in land which is his own than in property which belongs to another. He will anxiously cultivate the ground he owns until it yields him an abundance of good things that foster his health and rejoice his heart. He will cling to the spot and make it his home, dearer to him than foreign lands and gilded palaces. The possessor of the poorest cabin will not change it for the dreams of a Socialistic paradise. Ownership is one of the greatest boons of human life. The social question of the day is a question of home." ¹ Again: "The employer has no right to say to the working man, 'I can give whatever wages I please; if you are not satisfied with what I offer you can seek employment elsewhere.' He cannot deprive the working man of his proper and just share in the product. . . . We believe with John Mitchell [a Trade Unionist leader] that every man should have enough to keep his family, educate his children, and lay a little aside for the future. Six hundred dollars a year is the least that should be paid the unskilled common labourer. . . . I think every man should have a house with at least six rooms. He should have a bathroom, a parlour, dining-room, kitchen, and enough bedrooms.

¹ *Socialism and Christianity*, pp. 50, 51.

for decency and comfort. He should have carpets, pictures, books, and sufficient furniture to make his home comfortable and bright. He should have good food and should keep his children in school, and at the same time should be able to lay aside something for old age and sickness.”¹ Again: “Labour has the same right as capital to organize and unite. . . . The advance of Trade Unions in the United States is not to be dreaded as an evil. It is daily growing more self-conscious and prudent.”² “Unionism has to be recognized and respected.”³ “W. H. Sayward, of Boston, speaking from the side of the employers, says: ‘My experience has convinced me that labour thoroughly organized and honestly recognized is even more important for the employer than for the workmen. It makes possible a working method between the two parties, which removes, one by one, the most dangerous elements of conflict and misunderstanding.’”⁴ “If Unionism is crushed, Socialism will thrive in its stead.”⁵

Let me cite from Dr. Stang yet one more passage: “A sound insurance system indemnifying not only against accidents, but against reverses of life, such as sickness, loss of work, old age, would give the labouring classes what at the present they need the most—security of existence—and would keep them from drifting into Socialism. Legislation should force such an accident insurance upon any business concern where machinery is employed.”⁶

Thus we find this American Catholic Bishop praising the aspirations of the working classes for a more cultivated life, urging the equipment of every working man’s family with family property, demanding fair wages and the decencies of life for all, and workmen’s insurance,

¹ *Socialism and Christianity*, pp. 56, 57.

² P. 65.

⁴ P. 66.

⁵ P. 68.

³ P. 63.

⁶ P. 70.

and praising workmen's associations, that far from being an injury to the employers, are almost the condition of their security. You may not all agree with the whole programme of Bishop Stang, indeed, I hesitate myself before his high standard of house accommodation, but you will allow it is well worthy of our attention.

Trade Unions to be Welcomed.

Further, let me repeat a phrase in it, as affecting our present circumstances in Great Britain : " If Unionism is crushed, Socialism will thrive in its stead." These words seem to me very wise, and a warning to those among us who with untimely timidity are hostile to Trade Unions. Thus in America Mgr. Spalding, the friend of the Unions, has sorrowfully to recognize the evil that Socialists enter into them, and seek to rule them, causing disorder, promising Utopias, and victimizing the workmen by deception. But this is no wonder, because America, as you know, is where the forces of organized capital have sought to break the Unions by vast free labour agencies, by blacklisting, by the use of armed mercenaries, by the misuse of the laws of conspiracy which the employers in combination can themselves evade. Moreover, in America the constitutional law of free contract has been so interpreted as to hamper alike the Factory Acts and Trade Unions ; a sympathetic strike has been held to be illegal, and statutes have been declared unconstitutional if they forbade the discharge of a workman for belonging to a Trade Union ; similarly laws forbidding the truck system or commanding weekly payment of wages have been set aside as unconstitutional.¹ The cry, " Down

¹ See the small volume, *Our Benevolent Feudalism*, by the Socialist, W. J. Ghent, New York, 1902.

with Unionism !” awakens as its echo the cry, “ Up with Socialism !” The same thing happens in Germany. There the liberty of workmen’s associations is limited and precarious ; they lack co-operative rights ; they require a licence from the local authorities, are at the mercy of local officials, and are strictly bound to keep to specific questions of work and wages, else are liable to the penal law. And in Germany a vast proportion of the working classes are avowed Socialists, and form the great Social Democratic Party against which Count Buelow, the head of the Emperor’s Government, urges all the other parties to join in alliance, as against public enemies.

And here in Great Britain the friendliness towards Trade Unions in the early seventies that I remember has given way to the old suspicion and dislike, and instead of welcoming these great organized bodies, of linking them up with the law and the State (so well done in New Zealand and Australia), or of using them as an invaluable ally in the campaign against unemployment, the hostility to them culminated in the Taff Vale decision, virtually though not nominally the repeal of an Act of Parliament that had been passed in their favour. No wonder they have been driven into the arms of the Socialists ; no wonder that many of their members have become Socialists in reality, and many more, blinded by the dust, have become Socialists in name.

So-called Municipal Socialism as at Glasgow.

The confusion has been made worse, the mystification of the working classes on the one side and of the rich ratepayers on the other side has been made completer by the current use of the term “ Municipal Socialism.”

No doubt in recent years in Great Britain we can trace a vast increase of the economic functions of town councils, and a great many services have been undertaken having the public benefit as their aim, where these services, if left in private hands, would necessarily result either in great waste or in a great monopoly, or where, from the difficulties of exacting payment, private enterprise would have left them unsupplied. Such, for example, as the service of water, or gas, electricity, tramways, markets, docks, public baths, public gardens, public libraries, lodging-houses, and workmen's dwellings. This increase of function is partly due to the fact that British municipalities in mid-nineteenth century had lost much of their ancient powers, and left much either undone or done by private individuals that was habitually done by the municipalities on the European continent. The change was also partly due to the fact that the growth of towns and population rendered common action more and more needful for public health and convenience. But to call this movement Socialism is to play with words. It has been carried out not by any Socialist majority, sometimes not with any Socialist help, in no place as a step towards Collectivism ; but simply because it seemed in each particular case for the general good.¹

In fact, the question of public control and ownership is eminently a practical question varying with times and circumstances, sometimes more, sometimes less—less, for example, where, as in the United States, there is a lack of well trained and incorruptible officials ; more, for example, in Prussia, where such officials can be found and people are accustomed to the obedience of military and bureaucratic discipline.

Or to come nearer home, the city of Glasgow is an

¹ P. Verhaegen, *Socialistes Anglais*, ch. xi.

example of a locality where there was a wide field for the action of the civic authorities, and where the field had been occupied with wonderful energy and success ; so that when in 1901 the British Association held its meeting at Glasgow, strangers to the city could enjoy the best water supply in the kingdom, the cheap municipal gas and municipal trams, the parks, public halls and art gallery ; could examine the famous model lodging-houses, public baths, municipal laundries and markets ; could read of the immense improvement in the sanitary conditions of the city, with a great diminution of the death-rate, the diminution being the happy result of the new water supply, the better drainage, the clearance of slum areas, and the provision of healthy dwellings.

So great an extension of municipal activity caused Glasgow to be styled in the South the Mecca of Municipal Socialism ;^{*} though I must remark, by way of protest against this term, that the difference is hardly greater between the climate of the city on the Clyde and the climate of Mecca, than the difference between the municipal activity of Glasgow and real Socialism.

Examples from Mediæval Siena, Modern Vienna, and Mediæval England.

And lest you should think there is anything either new or revolutionary, or, again, anti-Catholic in this kind of public ownership and control, which is mis-called Municipal Socialism, listen to three examples. One is from Italy in the 13th century, in what was then the great industrial town of Siena. The statutes of the town administration can be read to-day ; elaborate rules on street cleanliness, market cleanliness, drainage

^{*} *The Times*, August 23, 1901.

and paving, for the problem of the water supply, for the planting of waste places around the town with trees, for forestry on the communal property ; care for the supply of the city with flour and grain, and provisions in general, and building materials, lest the supply be disturbed by any extortionate middlemen. There was power to make street improvements, and assessment was based on the principle of betterment (that, you see, is no new discovery). Finally, besides care for the roads and bridges, this Sienese republic took in hand the medicinal baths in its territory and fixed a tariff not merely for the baths, but for the lodging of those who frequented them.¹

Take another Catholic city, this time contemporary, the city of Vienna under its admirable burgomaster, Dr. Lueger. The city and its suburbs lay under the yoke of a ring of monopolists (chiefly Jews) ; the peasant cultivators around had to sell the produce of their farms, gardens, and vineyards to these monopolists at a very low price and the consumers had to buy them from these monopolists at a very high price. Dr. Lueger worked a transformation. He undertook a communal restaurant in the vast basement of the town hall, where wholesome and cheap provisions and light wine were sold to immense crowds of all classes, to the great gain both of consumer and producer, by getting rid of the monopolist middlemen, and bringing besides some £16,000 a year into the municipal treasury. Moreover, water has been municipalized and supplied at very low prices, I believe below cost price ; an excellent tram service is supplied just at cost price, while gas and electricity have also been made municipal, and though supplied very cheaply yield an annual revenue to the city of about £80,000 sterling. These

¹ See E. Armstrong, *English Historical Review*, vol. xv., 1900.

are great results, and no wonder the great man who has brought them about has been assailed with vituperation. As a Catholic and the friend of Leo XIII and Pius X, Dr. Lueger is called ultramontane, fanatical, and retrograde. We are accustomed to such epithets and can take off the discount from such charges; where I want you to deduct the discount is when you hear him called an Anti-Semite or Jew-hater, because it happened that the monopolists he overthrew were mostly Jews, and when you hear him called a Socialist because he established municipal industry in a field where it was fit.¹

As a third example let us come back to our own country and hear what was the condition of the tenants of the great monastery of Durham in the 15th century, a condition that if seen in working order to-day might be miscalled "Village Socialism." The villagers, though nominally tenants, were practically small property owners paying a rent-charge to the monastery. In the village, to quote the words of Abbot Gasquet, "Many of the things that in these days advanced politicians would desire to see introduced into the village community of modern England, to relieve the deadly dulness of country life, were seen in Durham and Cumberland in full working order in pre-Reformation days. Local provisions for public health and general convenience are evinced by the watchful vigilance of the village officials over the water supplies, the care taken to prevent the fouling of useful streams, and stringent bye-laws as to the common place for washing clothes and the times for emptying and cleansing ponds and mill-dams. Labour was lightened and the burdens of life eased by co-operation on an extensive scale. A common mill ground the corn, and the flour was baked into bread

¹ See *Rivista Internazionale*, November, 1903, pp. 490, 491.

at a common oven. A common smith worked at a common forge, and common shepherds and herdsmen watched the sheep and cattle of various tenants, when pastured on the fields common to the whole village community.”¹

Impracticability of Socialism.

If I have given these details at such length it is to emphasize my contention that reform is not Socialism, and that to mix them up is to confuse, confound, bewilder, and blind with dust or fog, and justifies me in applying to Socialism the epithet *insidious*, because masquerading under false colours as if it were the sole remedy for social ills, when out of many proposed remedies it is merely one.

And now I have as a second point to say that it is a very bad remedy, and thus that it is not merely insidious but *impracticable*.

The collective ownership and collective management of all the means of production implies that every factory and workshop in a whole country, every warehouse, every retail shop, every office, and every house of business, all ships from a liner to a fishing smack, every mine and quarry belong to the Government, and must be managed by those who are working not on their own account, but as Government servants.

Again and again the difficulties (seemingly insuperable) have been pointed out, and some explanation or answer demanded from the Socialists how they could be overcome. Already on other occasions I have pointed out that these difficulties, for the purpose of remembering them better, can be reduced to five : first, the difficulty

¹ Preface to his edition of Cobbett's *History of the Reformation*, p. xiv., 1896.

of organizing work ; secondly, the difficulty of supplying different wants ; thirdly, the difficulty of assigning different employments ; fourthly, the difficulty of assigning remuneration ; and lastly, the difficulty of supplying a stimulating motive to work.

Difficulties of Organization.

First, regarding the difficulty of organizing work, take Scotland alone, with something less than five million inhabitants. Think of all the houses of business in Edinburgh and other great towns and in every village and hamlet, worked from one centre. You may say it is done now by the Post Office. Precisely, because the Post Office performs a simple service where the prime matter is delivery, and the prime economy is to avoid cross delivery ; it is a simple, almost mechanical work ; the main work, the letters themselves, are produced by the individual thousands of the public. It would be a more apt comparison if an agent of State were himself, after hearing the individual circumstances, to write every letter and to post them at the proper time, just as he now transmits and delivers them. And in the Socialist Commonwealth the many busy hands that are now conducting tens of thousands of businesses, lesser or greater, throughout the land, and in most cases occupy their position precisely because they are capable, would at best remain as mere agents of a central organizing power. Nor are we helped by the analogy of great trusts or combinations, especially conspicuous in America, where vast industries are controlled by a few men. For apart from the difficulty that it is one thing for *some* industries to be controlled, and quite another thing for *all* industries to be controlled, there remains this difficulty, that as far as great

combinations and trusts have been successful, they have been successful because great power and great wealth have been *permanently* concentrated in few hands, and a new baronial or feudal system has been reconstituted; only instead of lordly barons in their castles we have great financial magnates in their counting-houses, sitting enthroned there, not for a few weeks or few months, but *permanently*. Hence if there is to be any successful business organization on the scale supposed, the democratic principles of starting fair, of popular control, and of rotation of office, all must be thrown overboard. Not even the world-famous Scottish capacity for business could carry on any concern with success if with every new moon there was to be a new manager. Rather we must hand ourselves over to the tender mercies of rulers and organizers who must be *few*, who must be *permanent*, who must be *autocratic*.

I have said Scotland—but why Scotland? Why not the forty-five millions of the United Kingdom or the four hundred millions of the British Empire? Mr. MacDonald speaks of “the community” and of the “nation-making epoch” as if it was closed,¹ and like other Socialists assumes complete, cut-and-dried and distinct units, that can each form a Socialist commonwealth. For most truly no Socialist organization is possible with shifting frontiers and shifting populations. But the facts are wholly contrary to the assumption that is required by Socialism. Take the last sixty years only: compare the political map and the statistics of population in 1846, and then at each successive ten years look at the changes in both. It would take me several hours to give you a mere catalogue of these changes. Only think, for example, of the extraordinary changes of the political areas ruled from London, from Paris, and

¹ *Socialism and Society*, pp. 133, 153.

from Berlin. Or again, think of the millions of men and women in a twofold vast migration, one from Europe to America, the other from the open country to the towns. And there is no sign that these changes are coming to an end. Frontiers and population are in a state of flux, now no less than sixty years ago, and their uncertainty makes the proposed Socialistic organization of national industry an impossibility. Society would have to be crystallized, frontiers stereotyped, international, nay even inter-urban migration stopped, all men confined each to his own district, like serfs in the old time or indentured coolies in the new time.

Difficulty of Supplying Wants.

Much more could be said on this first difficulty of organization, but I must pass on to the second, the difficulty of supplying different wants. A man's individuality, and let me say still more a woman's individuality, must be sacrificed: there is no room for peculiarities, idiosyncrasies, individual requirements. No doubt the ordinary food, the ordinary clothing, ordinary furniture, ordinary houses, ordinary amusements, you could get by presenting a labour ticket at the Government stores, or in whatever way distribution was managed; but all production would be wholesale, on a large scale, after an official pattern; instead of facing a body of producers and sellers eager to cater for every separate want, you would face an official body to whom any fresh want would mean more trouble and more brain work, with no prospect of private profit as an incentive; and thus you would seek in vain to procure what would be out of the routine of Government production; the practical consequence would be that grown men and women would be assimilated to

boys or girls at a boarding-school, and we must all be as soldiers with barrack-room uniformity. There could be no genuine liberty of consumption.

Difficulty of the Assignment of Employments.

The third difficulty is the assignment of different employments, and we ask in vain How can it be done? For every one to take turn and turn about at every trade is so appalling a waste of power, so great a violation of division of labour, as to be out of the question; to choose what you like best is to leave undone necessary employments that are liked the least; to give a greater reward to the rough, unpleasant tasks is to depreciate the higher and more delicate tasks: the chimney-sweep or scavenger would get more than the physician or the schoolmaster. A courageous effort to meet these difficulties was indeed made by Edward Bellamy, in his famous novel, *Looking Backwards*; but I need not dwell on his work, as it has long been repudiated by Bebel, who called him "a Utopian and no Socialist."¹ Indeed, the Socialist leaders shrink from publishing any practical details of the future Socialist State, and evade practical criticisms by keeping to generalities.²

Difficulty of Remunerating Work.

And the same may be said of the fourth difficulty, the assignment of remuneration. It is often done very badly now. Social reformers know the evil, and are striving as far as possible to remedy it. But remunera-

¹ *Woman and Socialism*, p. vii., 10th German edition. Stuttgart, 1891. A detailed confutation of Bellamy is given in Cathrein-Gettelmann, pp. 285-287, 320-321, 331 note.

² See pp. 233-244 of Cathrein-Gettelmann.

tion even now is often done very well. Take, for example, the elaborate rates for piece work in the Lancashire cotton trade, fixed by representatives of masters and men, and arrived at by technically trained experts ;¹ or, take the joint agreement that has worked so satisfactorily for five years or more in the coal-mining industry of the four great States of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois.² How could Socialism deal with cases like these? For a little while, indeed, they might simply continue the previous work of conciliatory experts ; but any change of production and any invention would make the old standards inapplicable, and no criterion would be at hand for the new, no outside current rates or Trade-Union rates, and all would have to be left to official good pleasure. But no body of men, least of all a body of officials, are to be trusted with arbitrary power in their hands.

Difficulty of Supplying a Motive.

Lastly, but not least, comes the difficulty of supplying a motive. It has been pointed out, again and again, how unlikely is the order and punctuality, the incessant and strenuous labour, the keen eye for technical improvement, the watch for markets, that is stimulated by the fear of dismissal on the part of the employed, or bankruptcy on the part of the employers, and by the hope of advancement and enrichment on the part of both. But in the Socialist State there could be neither dismissal nor bankruptcy to fear, and the honours and rewards that might be held out to the industrious and inventive would be a shadowy reward compared with

¹ S. and B. Webb, *Industrial Democracy*, 2nd ed., pp. 195-204.

² W. J. Ashley, *Adjustment Wages*, 1903. Appendix iv.

the substantial gains that our present social arrangements do not indeed always give (alas ! far from it), but at least hold out as an allurements. Hence the universal self-interest of indolent mankind in the Socialist State would condone, not indeed absolute idleness, but habitual slack work, easy-going habits, general negligence, that it would be everybody's business, and therefore nobody's business, to correct.

Failure of Socialists to answer the Objection of Impracticability.

The impracticable character of Socialism having long ago been pointed out, I looked with interest to see whether in either of the two volumes of the Socialist library published in 1905, namely, *Socialism and Positive Science*, a translation from Prof. Ferri, and *Socialism and Society*, by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, any serious attempt was made to meet this charge of impracticability. There is no serious attempt made in Prof. Ferri's work. In Mr. MacDonald's there is an attempt, whether serious you must yourselves judge. I have already shown how this writer—now the Member for Leicester—confuses the issue by making all social reform a step in the direction of Socialism instead of away from it. Now to the many practical objections against the collective ownership of all the lands, and mines, and railways, and dockyards, and ships, and mills, and workshops, he answers : " Make the change by degrees. *Solvitur ambulando*, not *sic volo*, laboratory experiment, not revolution, is the method of Socialism." * But how can this be taken, in spite of the Latin quotation, as a serious answer to the objections to Collectivism. If the end is wrong, it is not made

* *Socialism and Society*, p. 180.

right by being reached slowly and piecemeal. If I were to uphold that the best social arrangement was an oligarchy of great trusts, with all the rest of the people their industrial and political subjects, and you raised objections to the working of such a society, would it be a serious answer to say that this arrangement was to be reached cautiously, slowly, and in a Fabian manner? And supposing Mr. MacDonald's phrase "laboratory experiment" is a correct paraphrase of *solvitur ambulando*, are you and I to be stretched on the laboratory table as a *corpus vile* for social vivisection? Is Scotland with all her great historic memories, is the mighty empire, of which Scotland forms one of the most brilliant jewels, are the homes and hearths of the Scottish people, as were they some worthless material, to be exposed to the chances of a dubious experiment?

Socialism Immoral as being Injurious to Family Life.

I said dubious; but the experiment is worse than dubious, for real Socialism is not merely, as I have shown you, *insidious* and *impracticable*, but is exposed to a third and graver charge of being *immoral*, in the sense of being opposed to that solid family life which is the very pivot of morality and of happiness. No doubt such a charge will be indignantly repudiated; but remember before you join in the repudiation how precisely I have limited genuine Socialism, how carefully I have explained that a vast percentage of those who call themselves, or are called by others, Socialists, deserve not the name, and are striving after something completely different from genuine Socialism. To make a charge against these men, these merely

nominal Socialists, of being opposed to family life would be almost as preposterous as to make such a charge against the Pope or the Premier. But Socialism itself, that sets up the State as the universal producer and provider, this is an immoral doctrine, destructive of family life. I know indeed full well that there is much highly injurious to family life in the present condition of things, especially in the work of married women away from their homes, and in the miserable dwellings of so many of our people, for example, the overcrowded tenements of the jute-workers in Dundee, that make the name of "home" a mockery. That indeed is a reason why every one of us should be eager for the social reform that will mend or mitigate these evils, but not to mend them by doing away with the very home we are seeking to preserve or restore. And yet this is precisely what Socialism does. The sacred union of man and woman for mutual help, for educating and supporting their children, for providing for their future welfare, the sense of mutual responsibility and care, the true and healthy communism, that of the home, the countless co-operative associations which each family forms, the thousand ties of dependence that are an occasion for the display of the best qualities of human nature—this realm of self-devotion and self-sacrifice—all this becomes unmeaning and impossible where the Socialist State provides for the nourishment and education and technical training and material and moral outfit of each child. The moral office of parents is gone, the sacred enclosure of home is violated, the sacred words father, mother, brother, sister, have been degraded to a lower meaning, and the next step is to reduce the rearing of man under approved physicians and physiologists and the latest professor of eugenics.

to the level of a prize cattle farm. The Christian family and Collectivism are incompatible; their antagonism is so rooted that reconciliation is impossible.

Benefit of Small Holdings, and Socialist Hostility to them.

This antagonism is seen in various ways, and first in regard to small properties. Where the mass of mankind live, each family in a separate house with a garden around it, or small holding, or farm that will not occupy habitually much more labour than that of the members of the household—this is the best field for the Christian family; this the historical condition for the soundest family life, Christian and non-Christian, in the past, this the ideal of social reform, this what the new movement in Great Britain towards garden cities is proclaiming, this what Leo XIII, the great exponent of Christian family life and of the Christian renovation of society, urged so strongly, this the prevalence of which in great parts of Germany and the United States, gives to those two great countries the best security for their greatness.

But against such small properties, against the countryside being dotted with innumerable homesteads, such as still can be seen in parts of Aberdeenshire and among Highland crofters, real Socialism has set itself in persistent hostility, from the days when Karl Marx mistook the future and prophesied the disappearance of peasant proprietors,¹ to the publications of *The Socialist Library* last year, wherein Mr. MacDonald

¹ See the facts and figures in Cathrein-Gettelmann, pp. 160 ff. Also on the growth of the peasantry, relatively and absolutely, in Germany, see W. J. Ashley, *Progress of the German Working Classes*, 1904, pp. 60–68.

ignores this prime remedy for social disease,¹ and where Prof. Ferri condemns small farms in his biological fashion as rudimentary organs with no function in the higher organization of society.² And here you can find a good practical test of the difference on which throughout this paper I have laid such emphasis, the difference between mere nominal or harmless Socialism on the one side, and real and mischievous Socialism on the other. If a party or writer desires the spread of peasant proprietors, of small farmers, crofters—desires to see a multitude of families, each family working its own ground for its own sustenance, or for a wholesome supplement to its income; then any alleged Socialism of the party or the writer is only nominal and innocuous, like the alleged Socialist legislation of Australasia that has endeavoured by the taxation of unimproved ground values and by other measures, such as the exemption of improvements and of small landowners from taxation, to create as many farmers as possible on the vacant lands, and transform desolate sheep runs into the homes of a thriving peasantry.³

But true Socialism is hostile to peasant owners as well as to all owners; the small farm or croft is an instrument of production no less than the mine or factory, and must be absorbed by the community, not left as family property for family benefit. Extremes meet; and Individualism agrees with Socialism in making the individual the unit instead of the family—the individual working for himself, the individual face to face with the all-embracing State, and every power or function of intermediate organs weakened, numbed, often

¹ *Socialism and Society*, p. 170.

² *Socialism and Positive Science*, pp. 71, 72.

³ See *The Economic Journal*, 1904, pp. 401 ff., on "Taxation of Land Values in Australasia."

totally paralyzed. And thus the very criticism that has been directed against Individualism is equally applicable to Socialism, that it regards man, to use a famous French saying, as *né enfant trouvé, mort célibataire*—that is, it regards every one as if reared in a foundling house and dying unwedded.

The Anti-Christian and Anti-Catholic Campaign of Socialists.

And yet a clearer sign of the incompatibility of genuine Socialism with the Christian family is seen in the hostility of Socialism to Christianity. True, there have been so-called "Christian Socialists" like Maurice or Kingsley; true there are in England now a large body of men, *e.g.*, many of the Fabian Society and many members of the Anglican "Christian Social Union," who call themselves both Socialists and Christians. But this is quite a misnomer, considering what I have told you on the confusion of words and the misuse of the term Socialism to express Social Reform, though such a misnomer need not surprise us among our separated brethren, who are without watchful pastors under an infallible head to warn them when they are wandering from the track. And thus the real anti-Christian character of real Socialism comes out much more clearly wherever the Catholic Church is a recognized power. There the two great combatants appear undisguised. So (to repeat what I said at the Blackburn Catholic Conference in 1905 ¹), "you have only to cross to Belgium to see them forming two political parties in daily hostility. At least half the blame of the cruel persecution of the Church in France falls on the shoulders of the Socialists.

¹ Issued as a penny publication by the Catholic Truth Society, under the title *Socialism*.

In Germany a strong Government left off persecuting the Church because in her it recognized the only force that could withstand Socialism successfully. In Italy a Government once bitterly anti-clerical is becoming eager for an alliance with the Church as a shield against the Socialists. The same antagonism is seen across the Atlantic. The two rapidly growing and spreading bodies in the United States are the Socialists, who already make up nearly half the voters, and over against them the Catholic Church." And this Church the American Socialists well recognize is the great obstacle that bars their way to their final victory.¹

Nor is it to be passed by without mention that the most conspicuous of all living German Socialists, Herr Bebel, has written a famous book on *Woman*, that has been translated into many languages ; a book that sets at nought not merely the principles of the Christian family, but the very first principles of decent life, and proclaims the abominable doctrine that, by an appalling misuse of two noble words, is called the doctrine of free love.² And in England the most violent recent attack on Christianity, nay, on the existence of God and all religious beliefs, has been made in the *Clarion* newspaper of London, edited by Robert Blatchford, who among English Socialist writers is perhaps the most widely read.

It is true that in modern England, and probably still more in Wales and Scotland, the irreligious character of real genuine Socialism is veiled by the cloud of that non-genuine kind of which I have spoken so frequently, and which so frequently is profoundly religious. But still, the force of logic is too powerful and too remorse-

¹ Stang, *Socialism and the Church*, pp. 15, 33.

² *Die Frau und der Sozialismus*, 10th edition. Stuttgart, 1891, pp. 337, 338.

less, the world too closely connected physically and morally for us in England or Scotland to remain insulated much longer, or much longer to combine the incompatible. The fog will lift, the veil will be withdrawn, and you will see the real lineaments of Socialism ; its true character, not as seen in its undeveloped infancy in Great Britain, but as seen as an adult in its further development on the Continent and in America. Then it will appear as one aspect or form of modern irreligion, of the doctrine that all that is worth having is to be had in this world, of the revolt against the providential guidance of mankind, the rejection of belief in God and His judgements. Developed Socialism is but the practical way adopted by the toiling multitudes of expressing their irreligion.

**Not Socialists but Atheists the real Culprits
and the Enemies of the People.**

Am I then, as a conclusion, because of the unchristian and shocking words of Socialists like Bebel, or Ferri, or Robert Blatchford, to exclaim, *Le Socialisme, voilà l'ennemi !* See in Socialism our arch-foe ? By no means ; for this would be to mistake agents for principals, to assail the dupe rather than the deceiver. It is not against Socialists, but against others, that we must direct our indignation ; namely, against those who sit in high places, and under the plea of philosophy or science or historical criticism whittle away the foundations of our faith, admit no voice of revelation, will not recognize that Christ is God, or even that we know of any real personal God outside ourselves, any Father in heaven—these men are our true foes, these the irreconcilable enemies of the human race. Irreligion sitting at the banquet, clad in purple and fine linen, and

Socialism, irreligion's unhappy offspring, too often disavowed, shivering in rags on the doorstep—with which of these shall we feel indignation? Not with the offspring, I trow, but with the parent. And I can spare little pity for the clamorous complaints of rich men stripped of their power and possession by a working man's commonwealth, if they have previously joined in the unholy work of rearing a generation of atheists.

But let no one think that the working men at least will secure a material benefit, though they may lose a spiritual. The sword of irreligion is a treacherous weapon, and woe to those who grasp it, for it will turn against themselves. If the love of God, as Scripture tells us, is impossible without the love of man, it is no less certain that the love of man—true philanthropy, true altruism—is based on the love of God; unless you recognize God as your Father, you cannot recognize man as your brother. See then those who would cast away religion, like the misguided followers in this realm of the *Clarion* and of the Rationalist Press Association, see whither you would be driven. First of all perhaps, indeed, the property and power of the actual holders might be weakened or swept away; but no reign of love would follow the change. Much rather the bold and crafty, in the new struggle for existence, would secure, like the “bosses” of North America, for themselves and their allies the mastery over production, the control of wealth, the subjection of their fellow-men—the words fellow-men, indeed, or comrades, or brethren, are all out of place; say, rather the subjection of those others who, in the ruthless strife, have shown themselves their inferiors, and who would be made all speedily to know their inferiority, to know their masters, to recognize as their wisest course a ready adaptation to

their environment. The new aristocracy, or plutocracy, or capitalists, or magnates, or whatever name was given to the new holders of might and money, these new men would rule without any of the moral restraints that now, imperfectly indeed, but still in some measure, control them; and far from the issue of attempted Socialism being for the good, as true social reform, or true Christian Democracy, is for the good of the poorer and weaker classes of society,¹ the last state of the great masses would be worse than the first.

Therefore, as my final word, alike to those endowed and those not endowed with riches and power, it is not Socialism for the one, it is not Capitalism for the other, that is the foe to be fought, but for both alike the common enemy is Atheism; Atheism is our arch-foe. Among godless property-holders, godless employers, godless workpeople, there can be no lasting accord: alone under the wings of religion can social and domestic peace find a lasting refuge.

¹ See the penny publications issued by the Catholic Truth Society on *Christian Democracy before the Reformation* and *The Meaning and Aim of Christian Democracy*.

THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

BY ARTHUR J. O'CONNOR

THE vast increase in the world's wealth that has taken place within the last hundred years has not been accompanied by that improvement in the condition of the poor which might have been expected. Although the oft-repeated assertion that "while the rich are growing richer, the poor are growing poorer" is not in accordance with facts, yet the increase in the general wealth has made the miserable condition of the very poor more evident to the nation as a whole, and more intolerable, by contrast, to the poor themselves. The real state of large classes of poor people in England is not appreciated by the majority of those who are better off, because the latter are not brought into contact with the realities of life as experienced by the less fortunate sections of the community. But it cannot be denied that the evils of long hours of work for starvation wages, of insanitary dwellings, of uncertain employment or of no employment at all, the abominations of the sweating system, and the fear of the workhouse are ever-present realities to hundreds of thousands, or rather to millions, of people in this country.

At the Conference of the Catholic Truth Society

¹ Reprinted from *The Month*, January, 1908.

held at Stockport in 1899, Cardinal Vaughan, speaking of the condition of the poor in England, said :

“ Millions of human creatures are housed worse than the cattle and horses of many a lord and squire. Nearly a million of the London poor need re-housing : the medical authority has reported against 141,000 houses as insanitary, in which the poor are huddled together in numbers varying from four to twelve and more in a single room. . . . Mr. Charles Booth speaks of semi-starvation as the lot of multitudes, and of an undefined line that separates hundreds of thousands from a state of pauperism. Over forty thousand starveling children attending the London Elementary Schools are a constant anxiety to the teachers. The sweating system, irregular and low wages, physical weakness, and race degeneracy act and react upon each other with the precision of a law of nature. . . . Official returns made a few years ago present a sad and painful picture of the material and economic condition of the English poor. In the annual death-rate throughout England *one in fourteen* was that of a pauper in the workhouse. In Liverpool, *one death in seven* occurred in a workhouse. In the Manchester township [before its recent enlargement], *one death in every five* was that of a pauper. According to the Royal Commission for housing the poor, *one* person in every *five* in London dies in a public hospital or a workhouse, and if the wealthy classes are excluded, the number is *one* in every *three*. This sums up the material condition of the poor in the wealthiest country in the world.”

Nor is England the only country in which the state of the very poor is deplorable.

"All agree," says Pope Leo XIII in his Encyclical on "The Condition of Labour," "all agree, and there can be no question whatever, that some remedy must be found, and quickly found, for the misery and wretchedness which press so heavily at this moment on the large majority of the very poor. The ancient workmen's guilds were destroyed in the last century, and no other organization took their place. Hence by degrees it has come to pass that working men have been given over, isolated and defenceless, to the callousness of employers and the greed of unrestrained competition. The evil has been increased by rapacious usury . . . and to this must be added the custom of working by contract, and the concentration of so many branches of trade in the hands of a few individuals, so that a number of very rich men have been able to lay upon the masses of the poor a yoke little better than slavery itself."

It is evident that some remedy is urgently needed. It is equally evident, from the above quotations, that when the Church strongly opposes certain suggested remedies, its action is not due either to ignorance of the true state of affairs, or to an unwillingness to recognize the necessity of a change. But when measures are proposed which are contrary to natural justice, and calculated, for that and other reasons, to do far more harm than good, the Church is bound to condemn them.

The particular remedy for social evils which is most loudly advocated at the present time is known as Socialism. But what is Socialism? or rather, what is meant by the word Socialism as used in this paper? This must first be made clear.

Among political economists there are, regarding questions of the industrial relations of different classes, and of competition, and of State interference with contracts, two conflicting schools of thought, the first that of the Individualists, the second that of the Collectivists. The Individualists favour the completest freedom of trade and of labour. All restrictions on individual liberty, except in so far as they are necessary to protect the liberty of other individuals, are to be avoided. Every one should be allowed to make any contracts with others that he chooses, the parties being assumed to be on an equal footing. Competition should have full play, and every one be entitled to do the best he can for himself, as long as he avoids force or fraud. Individual responsibility should be encouraged as much as possible, and the interference of the State be reduced to a minimum. The Collectivists go to the other extreme. They hold that the State should regulate all industrial relations, and should be the sole owner of land, and of capital, and of all the means of production. Private property should be abolished ; competition should cease ; the State should be the only employer of labour, finding work for every one, and providing every one, in return for his work, with sufficient means for a comfortable existence.

Now, any one who is not an Individualist may, in some sense, be called a Socialist, inasmuch as he does approve of some degree of State interference, greater than the Individualist would approve, though less than that which the Collectivist advocates. Any one who is in favour of factory laws or free education may, in this sense, be styled a Socialist ; and this, no doubt, was the meaning of Sir William Harcourt

when he said, nearly twenty years ago, "We are all Socialists now." It is in some such sense as this that many well-known Catholics have called themselves Socialists.

In recent years, however, the word Socialism has become more and more identified with thoroughgoing Collectivism, and the word Socialist with those who are carrying on, either here or abroad, what is known as "the Socialist movement." These men are agreed on the general principles of the only kind of Socialism which they regard as genuine, and which they put forward as a panacea, warranted to bring about a new state of society, and to put an end to all the evils of "the capitalistic *régime*." It is with this kind of Socialism that the present essay is concerned.

The Socialist asserts that the poverty and miseries of modern life arise from the inequalities produced by free competition and the accumulation of private capital; and he proposes to substitute for these the State ownership of capital and land, and the regulation of all industry by the State. It will be as well to give the actual words of some leading Socialists on these points.

The manifesto of the Socialist League issued in 1885, with notes by William Morris and E. Belfort Bax, says that "the workers, although they produce all the wealth of society, have no control over its production and distribution," and that "this must be altered from the foundation, and the land, the capital, the machinery, factories, workshops, stores, means of transit, mines, banking, and all means of production and distribution of wealth must be declared and treated as the common property of all."

In one of the most popular of Socialistic works

Britain for the British, by Robert Blatchford, we read :

“The root idea of Socialism means two things—(1) that the land and all the machines, tools, and buildings used in making needful things, together with all the canals, rivers, roads, railways, ships, and trains used in moving and sharing needful things, and all the shops, markets, scales, weights and money used in selling or dividing needful things, shall be the property of the whole people ; (2) that the land, tools, machines, trains, rivers, shops, scales, money, and all other things belonging to the people shall be worked, managed, divided, and used by the whole people in such a way as the greater number of the whole people shall deem best.”

How possession of all the land and capital and means of production and distribution is to be obtained by the State—whether by confiscation outright, or by gradually taxing private owners out of existence, or by making some compensation to those dispossessed—is a point on which Socialists are not agreed. Some favour confiscation, pure and simple ; others would prefer to put increasing taxes on private property, rent, profits, and interest, till it would be worth no one's while to hold such things any longer. A few would make some compensation, though how this could be done, without continuing the existence of capitalism, does not appear.

Apart from the question of how the transfer of capital is to be brought about, the general idea of Socialism, as at present advocated in England, is clear enough.

“Socialism has one meaning, and **one** meaning only. Socialism means, and can mean, nothing else

than that the community, or the State, is to take all the means of production into its own hands, that private enterprise and private property are to come to an end, and all that private enterprise and private property carry with them. That is Socialism, and nothing else is Socialism.”¹

The ideas which underlie this system have spread rapidly on the Continent in recent years. In Germany, at the last General Election, the Socialists, though they lost nearly half the seats they had previously held, secured more than 3,000,000 votes. In France there is a strong Socialist party, advocating similar measures. During a recent discussion on the appropriation of Church property, M. Paul Constans, a Socialist deputy, said :

“We shall vote for this Bill, because we hope that no one in this House will henceforth say that Collectivism is a Utopia, a dream of fools. We shall ask you to extend your expropriating principles, until they cover not a mere part of the ground of private ownership, but the whole ground, and sweep it away, at last, in the interest of the nation.”

In England the same ideas are spreading among working men, and even, according to those who are in a position to know, among Catholic working men. It is true that the Social Democratic Federation, the Independent Labour Party, and the Fabian Society—the chief Socialist organizations—are not very formidable in point of numbers, but they are very active as propagandists. The Independent Labour Party, the most important of these bodies, has twenty members in Parliament, more than eight hundred members on local governing bodies, and

¹ Mr. Balfour at Birmingham, November 14, 1907.

over seven hundred branches ; and, according to one of its recent reports, under the auspices of these branches about 65,000 meetings are held every year. Moreover, the Socialists, owing to the apathy of their opponents, have gone far towards obtaining control of the Trade Unions and of the whole labour movement. This is shown by the fact that on the Parliamentary Committee of the Trade Union Congress nine of the sixteen members are advanced Socialists, while of the thirty-one members of the whole Labour Party in the House of Commons twenty-three are Socialists.

The effect of the propaganda of the Socialist societies is seen in such elections as that at Colne Valley. At that election there were three candidates—a Liberal, a Unionist, and a Socialist. The Socialist was at the top of the poll with 3,648 votes. After the election the new member, Mr. Grayson, said :

“ This epoch-making victory has been one for pure revolutionary Socialism. We have not trimmed our sails to get half-hearted voters, and we have proclaimed our Socialism from every platform.”

How is it that these Socialistic ideas spread so easily? One of the chief causes, no doubt, is the resentment produced by the abuse of capital on the part of men whose sole aim is the acquisition of money, regardless of the suffering they may cause in the pursuit of it. The modern idea of wealth, and of the extent to which it may be used for purely selfish purposes, is one of the many evil consequences of the Protestant Reformation ; it is quite contrary to the Catholic idea which prevailed in England before that event. It seems to be com-

monly held in England at the present day, that a man is justified in making money by any *legal* means; and that having made it he may then say, "All this is mine; I am entitled to use the whole of it, however much it may be, just as I please." How far removed this is from Catholic ideas, either of the obtaining or of the using of wealth, need hardly be pointed out. The position of the rich man, as merely the steward of his superfluous wealth, is thus described in one of the popular books of instruction used in England in the 14th century:

"All that the rich man hath, passing his honest living after the degree of his dispensation, it is other men's, not his, and he shall give full hard reckoning thereof at the day of doom." 1

Hence there were not in England in Catholic times those extremes of misery and those gulfs between one class and another which now exist. Professor Thorold Rogers, in his *Economic Interpretation of History*, speaking of the century and a half immediately preceding the Reformation, says:

"On the whole there were none of those extremes of poverty and wealth which have excited the

Some have gone too far in this direction, and tried to maintain that some form of communism is taught in the Gospel. This is clearly an error. The only communism in the Gospel is that of the Apostles and Disciples, as a body of teachers, travelling about, and obliged to break off, for purposes of their mission, from the social life of their relatives and friends. Community of goods applied only to those so engaged; it applied then, as it applies now, only to those called to perfection, to an exceptional life, and to special work in the Church. There is no condemnation of wealth in the Gospel as long as it is not misused. The account of the rich young man, as given by St. Matthew, shows this clearly, though it has been quoted to prove the opposite.

astonishment of philanthropists and the indignation of working men. The age, it is true, had its discontents . . . but of poverty that perishes unheeded, of willingness to do honest work and a lack of opportunity, there was little or none. The essence of life in England during the days of the Plantagenets and Tudors was that every one knew his neighbour, and that every one was his brother's keeper."

Then came the Reformation which changed all this, and destroyed that great support of the poor man, the Church, a large part of whose revenues were not only given to the poor, but were recognized as being claimable by them. Of the effect of the destruction of the Church Mr. Hyndman, a Socialist, says :

"Thus the poor who had ever obtained ready relief from the Church, the wayfarers who could always find food and shelter in the religious houses, the children of the people who repaired to the convent for guidance and teaching, were deprived at one fell swoop of alms, shelter, and schools. This great and powerful estate, which naturally sided with the people against the monarch and the aristocracy, now became a means of oppression in the hands of the landowners and the middle class. Rack-renting and usury were henceforth sanctified instead of being denounced, and the Protestant Reformation became a direct cause of the increasing misery of the mass of Englishmen."¹

The modern world shows no sign of going back to the old ideas, and large numbers of people at the present day act like those who, not being willing to conform to the true principles of health, are delighted

¹ *Historical Basis of Socialism in England*, p. 32.

to find some quack, who, with a specific of his own, undertakes to cure all their complaints. Without investigating the nature of Socialism, or considering how it would work out in practice, they adopt the theory off-hand, trusting to the vague and wordy assurances of its advocates that it is the only cure for the diseases of society.

Not that all Socialist leaders are knowingly quacks, seeking their own ends, or that all those who advocate Socialism do so from selfish motives. There are many excellent people who are so distressed at the amount of poverty and misery around them, which they cannot relieve, that they are willing to adopt almost any means that seems likely to end it. They believe that, "man being naturally good," the establishment of Socialism would make all men brothers, and that each would work hard for the benefit of all; that thus the general level would be gradually raised, until ultimately a sort of golden age would result. They forget original sin.

"Qu'est ce que le Progrès-indéfini? Qu'est qu'une société qui n'est aristocratique? Ce n'est pas un société, ce me semble. Qu'est que l'homme naturellement bon? Où l'a-t-on connu? Cet ordre d'idées me scandalise. . . . Toutes ces hérésies ne sont que la consequence de la grande hérésie moderne—la suppression de l'idée du péché originel."¹

That the idea of the regeneration of man by Socialism is a dream was long since pointed out by Aristotle. Speaking of proposals for a community of property, he says:

"Such legislation may have a specious appearance

¹ Baudelaire, *Letter to Toussenel*.

of benevolence; men readily listen to it, and are easily induced to believe that in some wonderful manner everybody will become everybody's friend, especially when some one is heard denouncing the evils now existing in States, suits about contracts, convictions for perjury, flatteries of rich men, and the like, which are said to arise out of the possession of private property. These evils, however, are due to a very different cause—the wickedness of human nature . . . Again, we ought to reckon not only the evils which the citizens will be saved, but also the advantages which they will lose.”¹

One section, then, of Socialists consists of well-meaning persons, who, in their schemes for benefiting mankind, leave out of account human nature. Another section is much less respectable. There are many men who would like to become masters and leaders and owners of capital, but have not the capacity or perseverance to become so by competition in trades or professions, or in any manner that requires energy and patience. They are none the less envious of all who are above them. They therefore denounce capital, however obtained, and competition of whatever kind, and say, “Let us abolish both, and all be equal. Then we shall, at any rate, not have any one above us except an abstraction, the State, of which we shall be a part.” Then there is another section, consisting of those who, perhaps, are not envious and not ambitious, but who hate competition and the struggle to get on or to maintain themselves in the position which they occupy. These naturally look forward to a state of things in which every one, industrious or otherwise, would be certain

¹ *Politics*, ii. 5 (Jowett's translation).

of a living from the State, and would be free from all responsibility, whether for himself or for his wife and his children.

Before considering what would be the effect of adopting the proposals of the Socialists, the relations between their suggested system and religion may be very shortly referred to. It is difficult to see how, if the land and all the means of producing wealth are to be in the hands of the State, the work of the Church could be carried on at all ; or how Religious Orders could continue, or priests be educated, or any schools but secular ones exist. None of these things could be provided for unless all the citizens were members of the Church. But would any form of religion, or, at least, any form of Christianity, be assisted or even tolerated under Socialism ? The Socialists hold that the State has absolutely nothing to do with religion, that private ownership of property is wrong, that children are primarily children of the State, that the individual is to be entirely subordinated to the community. All these ideas are inconsistent with Christian principles. Mr. Belfort Bax writes thus :

“ I do not think it is possible to consider Socialism in any other light than as, if not anti-Christian and anti-Theistic, at least as very definitely non-Christian and non-Theistic. As above pointed out, it may on occasion be compelled, in self-defence even, to adopt the aggressive attitude in these matters. . . . Looking at the matter broadly, and apart from the question of electoral expediency or vote-catching, I think we may conclude that the oft-repeated saying of Tridon, to the effect that Socialism stands for a new theory of life, expressing itself in economics as

Communism, in religion as Atheism, and in politics as International Republicanism, taken in a wide sense, cannot be regarded as destitute of justification." †

In any case it cannot be denied that the leading Socialists of the present day are, almost without exception, distinctly anti-religious. That this is so abroad is notorious. In England nearly all the leaders of Socialism are of the same character. Shaw, Hyndman, Quelch, Belfort Bax, Karl Pearson, and Blatchford agree with Karl Marx and Herr Bebel in regarding Christianity as an absurd superstition, if not worse. Statements in their various works to this effect have frequently been quoted, and it would be wearisome to quote them again. It is sufficient to have pointed out that the principles of Socialism are opposed to those of Christianity, that the leaders of the Socialist movement are most of them professed enemies of any form of supernatural religion, and that in any case, under the Socialist *régime*, the work of the Church would be brought almost entirely to an end.

Passing from the question of religion, it remains to be considered, what would be the social and economic effects of a system of Socialism based on the abolition of private property and of competition. And it may safely be asserted that, human nature being what it is, any such system would prove, first, so destructive of commercial prosperity; second, so injurious to the character of those who lived under it; and third, so incompatible with ordinary freedom, that no community could tolerate it for any length of time.

† *The Principles of Socialism : their Extra-economic Aspects.*

1. Suppose the Socialist system established, private property made illegal, competition abolished, and the State the sole employer of labour. The State would require a gigantic organization in order to secure, not only the distribution of the goods of every kind required by the community, but also, what would be much more difficult, the actual production of all these things. It must estimate, sometimes far in advance, what will be the probable demand for each of these things. It must control every trade, and arrange for the exchange of products with foreign countries in remote parts of the world. Sets of Government officials, working by strict rules and regulations, are to carry on the whole commercial system of the country, with all the intricate inter-relations of different industries, and the complications of foreign trade. How many Government departments will be required for all this? And how will the relations between them be regulated? Without competition, how will they even be able to decide upon the relative values of goods? or even on a standard for any one kind of goods? These are questions which Socialists do not answer. Again, how are wages to be fixed? Is it to be in accordance with the value of the work done? If so, how is this to be estimated in the absence of competition? How is a day's work of a bricklayer to be estimated, relatively to that of a chemist or a surgeon? The difficulty of solving these questions by theoretical calculation of labour-time, and so on, and the impossibility of leaving them to be arbitrarily decided by officials, have led many Socialists to conclude that the wages of all must be equal. Thus in the *Fabian Essays*, we read ;

“ The impossibility of estimating the separate value of each man’s labour with any really valid result : the friction which would arise, the jealousies which would be provoked, the inevitable discontent, favouritism, and jobbery that would prevail—all these things will drive the Communal Council into the right path, equal remuneration of all workers.”

But would not this, too, lead to discontent and agitation on the part of the more industrious and more skilful, who would find themselves no better remunerated than the lazy and the inefficient ?

Suppose, however, that the Government, in spite of these difficulties, were to succeed in carrying on the whole commercial work of the country, without being strangled in its own red tape, what would be the effect on production ? would not the amount of that grow less and less ? If all are to be paid alike—and it is difficult to see how this can be avoided without reintroducing capitalism—the main incentive to enterprise and hard work will disappear. Next, the development of all, or nearly all, exceptional skill, will probably cease. For who will work persistently for years to become a great surgeon, or physician, or engineer, if he will never get any more by doing so than he would have received had he remained only just skilful enough to belong to his particular profession ? Even manual labour would deteriorate. Receiving the same, whether he works hard and efficiently, or only just well enough to keep out of trouble with the State, the average man will work as little as he may. This seems indeed to be the ideal of certain Socialists at present.

“ To the Socialist, labour is an evil to be minimized

to the utmost. The man who works at his trade or avocation more than necessity compels him, or who accumulates more than he can enjoy, is not a hero, but a fool, from the Socialist's standpoint."¹

It is a fact beyond dispute, that the chief incentive to labour is the prospect of personal advantage to be gained by it, and the absence of this prospect has always resulted in a slackening of effort.

"It is the common error of Socialists to overlook the natural indolence of mankind; their tendency to be passive, to be the slaves of habit, to persist indefinitely in a course chosen. Let them once attain any state of existence which they consider tolerable, and the danger to be apprehended is that they will thenceforth stagnate: will not exert themselves to improve, and by letting their faculties rust, will lose even the energy required to preserve them from deterioration."²

It is futile to say that all will work well for the good of the community. What reason is there to expect the nature of man, as shown in history, to change under Socialism? No system of Socialistic education will prevent men from being lazy or dishonest, as long as they have free will.

Then, again, if all are to be employed by the State, how is it to be decided what occupation each one is to follow? If choice of occupation were free, all would choose the pleasant occupations, and no workers would be left for the others. Therefore, all must take turns in doing various kinds of work, or else each one's occupation must, to a large extent, be decided by officials. Thus all

¹ Belfort Bax, *The Religion of Socialism*, p. 94.

² Mill, *Political Economy*, iv., vii. 7.

special tastes and aptitudes must be largely disregarded, and those who might do excellent work in one direction will often be employed in work for which they are quite unsuited, and will therefore be less efficient. To take another point. It is admitted that the production of wealth is enormously greater at the present day than it was a hundred years ago. This is not due to the increased number of workmen, for the increase in wealth produced is many times greater than the increase in the number of workers. It is due to improvements in machinery, to inventions and discoveries. What would be the effect of Socialism here? It is admitted by Socialists that under Socialism no material reward can be hoped for by any inventor, however much his invention or discovery may have benefited the world. But inventors, except one in a hundred, do not invent merely for the sake of inventing. They would not undertake long-continued researches and experiments, such as have preceded most inventions, if it were not for the prospect of a great reward. In any case, without some private property they would be unable to do it. Hence, under Socialism, there would be a great decrease in invention, and consequently, in material progress. There is little prospect of the public authorities assisting inventors or pioneers of any sort. Neither is it probable that they will undertake any considerable enterprises themselves. The result in most cases being doubtful, and unaccompanied by any personal gain to themselves, they will probably not run the risk. They are likely to be even more unenterprising than Government departments have always

been hitherto, for they will be without the example and the rivalry of private enterprise, which now compels official bodies not to lag too far behind.

It appears, then, inevitable, that under Socialism the removal of incentives to work on the part of the average man, the discouragement of all exceptional skill, the neglect of special tastes and capacities, the absence of all encouragement of discovery and invention, and the natural inclination of the official bodies to avoid all enterprises uncertain in their result, will not only greatly hamper industrial progress, but will bring about a gradual but sure deterioration, both in the work of individuals and in the whole industrial life of the country.

2. Apart from economic results, Socialism would inevitably bring about great changes in the social and moral order—changes which would have more effect on the happiness of the people than material conditions. Would these be changes for the better? Take the family. Marriage, as it now exists, is regarded by Socialists as a capitalistic institution—which it is. Under Socialism, the family, the individual home, would not exist. In a work by William Morris and Belfort Bax,¹ we read :

“The present marriage system is based on the general supposition of the economic dependence of woman on the man, and the consequent necessity for his making provision for her, which she can legally enforce. This basis would disappear with the advent of social economic freedom, and no binding contract would be necessary between the parties as regards livelihood ; while property in children would cease to exist, and every infant

¹ *Socialism : its Growth and Outcome*, p. 16.

would be born into full citizenship. Thus a new development of the family would take place, an association terminable at the need of either party."

Similarly, Robert Owen declared :

"In the new moral world the irrational names of husband and wife, parent and child, will be heard no more . . . all connection will be the result of affection. The child, which would undoubtedly be the property of the whole community," &c.

Many similar statements might be quoted from other Socialist writers.

Even if marriage were to continue as it is, the children could not be brought up at home. The sexes are to be equal ; and all are to work for the State, the women as well as the men. The mother, therefore, will not be able to devote her time to her young children, nor can she employ any one else to look after them at home, for the State is to be the only employer. The children must, therefore, be taken at the earliest possible age into the care of the State, and this is the Socialist ideal. They will thus become almost strangers to their parents at an age when they are most impressionable, and at this age they will be brought up by State nurses and officials, who will have no interest in them as individuals. Is this likely to improve their characters? It is absurd to argue from the fact that now the homes of many children are unsatisfactory. That two, or three, or even four or five, hundred thousand children are badly brought up, or neglected, is no justification for taking eight or nine millions of children away from their parents. Moreover, if parental responsibility is to come to an end, and the State is to be responsible for the children, will not

the public authority be likely to go further, to claim a right to make regulations in its own defence, to begin to talk about the "multiplication of the unfit," and to establish a system of intolerable interference with domestic arrangements? So far is this from being unlikely, that a Socialist writer, repudiating the charge that Socialism would lead to too great freedom in these matters, recently declared that :

"Under the Collectivist system everything is subordinated to the interests of the State, and the personal choice and liberty which men and women enjoy to-day in regard to the marriage tie, would be no longer exercised. The State would step in and interfere with personal selection, on the ground that such a marriage was opposed to the interests of the community."

Where is this interference to stop?

Again, what would be the effect of a Collectivist system of Government on the general character of the people?

Under Socialism everything, it appears, is to be directed by officials. No one who is not an official will be responsible for anything. Thus every one will in time come to look to the State for everything. For the great majority of the people, self-reliance and independence will cease to exist, enterprise and thrift will become impossible, or useless. A generation or two of life under such conditions would undermine the character of any community.

Thus, it appears, that in a Socialist State family life would be disorganized, the children would be badly brought up, and the character of the citizens generally would degenerate.

3. There is a further consequence of the Socialistic

organization of society which must not be overlooked. It has already been pointed out that to enable the State to carry on all the industries of the country and control all the professions, officials of some sort must decide what kinds and quantities of goods are to be produced and what work of all descriptions is to be done. For this purpose these officials must have power to decide, to a great extent, what occupations individual members of the community are to follow, otherwise there would be too many in one and not enough in others. They must also fix some standard of work, otherwise some would do next to none. They must also be able to move workmen from one place to another. And it must be remembered that there could be no such thing as throwing up work and going elsewhere. It is impossible to strike where there is only one available employer and no private property. Even if the powers described were always exercised honestly, and without either favouritism or ill-will, as the case might be, the official classes would have such power and authority over the lives and proceedings of the great majority of the community as no Government has ever possessed—except over slaves. And what guarantee is there that the power would be so exercised? or what reason to think that the Socialistic official will be any different from the average official, as he is now, or has been in the past? None whatever.

Perhaps it will be said that public opinion and the newspaper press will be available to check the acts of the official class. Not at all. The State is the sole employer of labour, and holds all the means of production. It must, therefore, be the sole printer and publisher. Before anything is printed some one must

decide whether it ought to be printed, whether the public funds are to be employed in producing it. State officials will, therefore, have power to decide whether or not any particular book is to be published or any particular statement of opinion is to appear in a newspaper. Some Socialists have attempted to meet this difficulty by suggesting that every one would be entitled to have what he liked printed, provided he deposited the cost of printing it. But this would not be possible if there were no private property. The particular set of officials, therefore, who happened to be in office at a given time would be able to manufacture, or stifle, public opinion as they thought fit.

“No book could be published except with the approval of some State authority, for the State, controlling all printing works, can, will, and must determine whether it shall be printed. Likewise, the production of newspapers and all other journalistic works would be a monopoly of the State, for newspaper proprietors could no more be allowed to control newspaper factories than any other capitalist some other factory. Clearly, therefore, only such newspapers would and could be printed which voiced the views of the official bureaucracy. Not only would all the wealth of the country be centred in the hands of the bureaucracy, not only would this bureaucracy have absolute control, hourly and daily throughout their lives over every man and woman, but they would also have an absolute monopoly over the manufacture of public opinion. No opinion could be expressed, no news could be published, which they desired to suppress.”¹

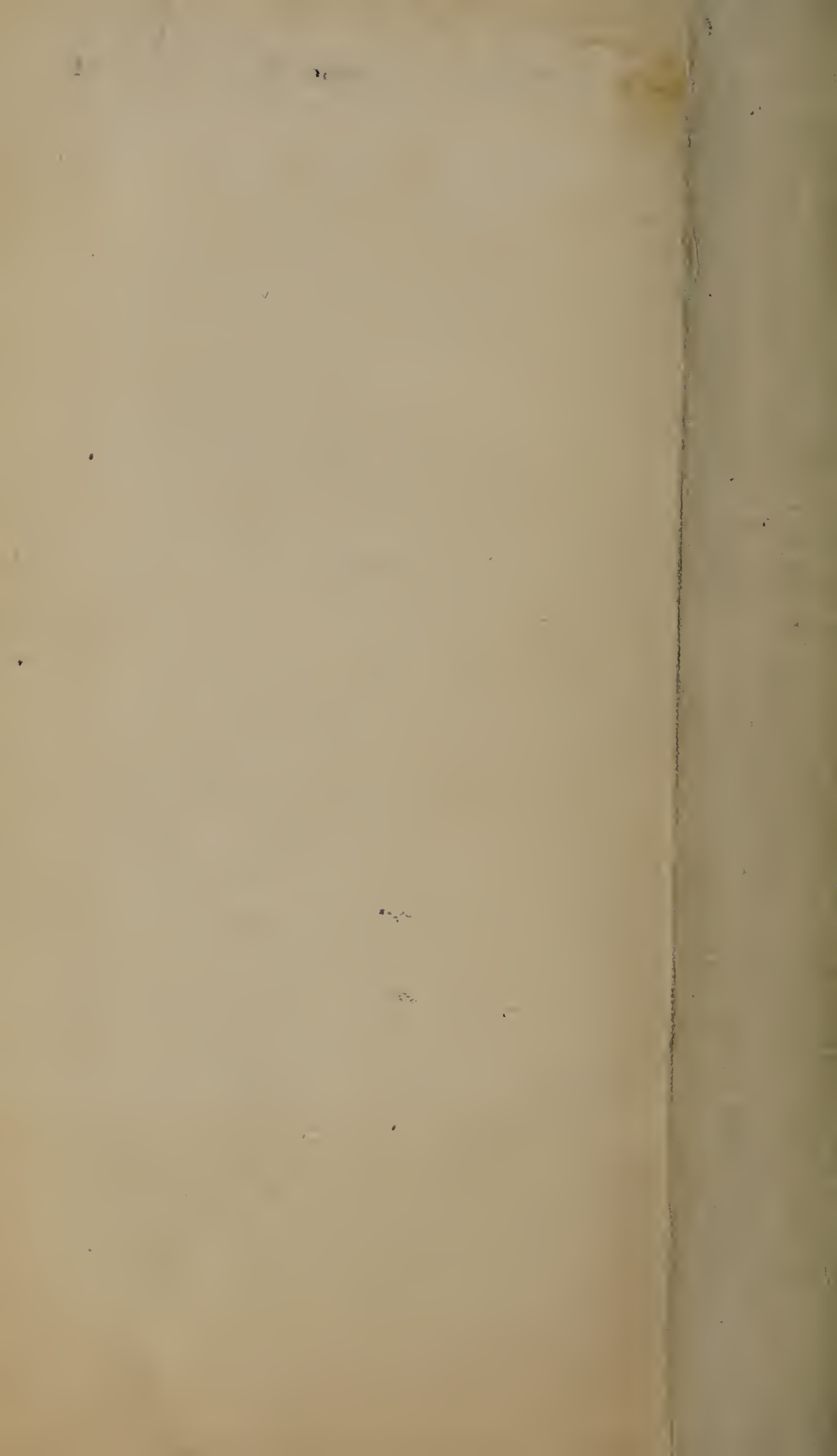
¹ Max Hirsch, *An Exposure of Socialism*, p. 15.

Thus, in many important points, the freedom now enjoyed by the average man must, under Socialism, be almost entirely surrendered to an official class.

Even if the members of the governing bodies were all honest and acted fairly, and were none of them faddists or interfering Jacks-in-office, a state of things in which others are to decide what you shall work at, and where you shall work, and how long you shall work, whom you shall marry, how and where your children shall be brought up, what books you shall publish and what newspapers you shall read, seems to be little better than slavery. But if the officials may be far removed from the supposed standard, or even be of quite an opposite character, and if, in addition, there is to be no adequate means of resisting them, or even publicly expressing an opinion about them, slavery is too mild a word to apply to such a state of existence.

For these and other reasons, which will occur to any one who tries to work out the details of a really Socialistic scheme of society, it seems clear that any system which forbids private property, deprives men of incentives to work, makes the State the sole employer of labour and the sole producer of goods, takes children out of the hands of their parents, relieves men of all responsibility for their families, makes the ordinary citizen dependent for everything on State organizations, and gives officials unparalleled opportunities of favouritism or oppression, will end in failure ; and while it exists, instead of improving the condition of the people, will do an amount of evil far in excess of any now existing, which it proposes to cure.





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